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29.

Rappenhelm

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D,

F R O M
The INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR

T O
The REVOLUTION in 1688,
IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

VOL. IV.

A NEW EDITION, Corrected.
To which is added, a COMPLETE INDEX.

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TH E numerous enemies, whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment, had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence; who placed a pride in supporting the choice, which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or to the discontents of the great. That artful prelate likewise, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant, which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the

C H A P.
XXVIII.
1515.
*Wolsey's
adminis-
tration.*

will

CHAP. will and authority of his master. By entering into the
 XXVIII. king's pleasures, he still preserved his affection; by con-
 ducting his business, he gratified his indolence; and by his
 1515. unlimited complaisance in both capacities, he prevented
 all that jealousy, to which his exorbitant acquisitions, and
 his splendid, ostentatious train of life should naturally have
 given birth. The archbishopric of York falling vacant
 by the death of Bambrige, Wolsey was promoted to that
 see, and resigned the bishopric of Lincoln. Besides en-
 joying the administration of Tournay, he got possession,
 at very low leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester,
 and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were al-
 lowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound
 for this indulgence, by yielding a considerable share of
 their profits. He held in commendam the abbey of St.
 Albans, and many other church preferments. He was
 even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of
 Durham, next that of Winchester; and there seemed to
 be no end of his acquisitions. His farther advancement
 in ecclesiastical dignity served him as a pretence for en-
 grossing still more revenues: The pope, observing his
 great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging
 him in his interests, and had created him a cardinal. Ne-
 ver churchman, under colour of exacting regard to reli-
 gion, carried to a more exorbitant height the state and
 dignity of that character. His train consisted of eight
 hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gen-
 tlemen: Some even of the nobility put their children into
 his family as a place of education; and in order to ingrat-
 ate them with their patron, allowed them to bear offices
 as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art
 or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court
 in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found
 in him a generous patron; and, both by his public insti-
 tutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to
 every branch of erudition^A. Not content with this mu-
 nificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise,
 he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace, by the
 splendor of his equipage and furniture, the costly em-
 broidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. He was
 the first clergyman in England that wore silk and gold,
 not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trap-
 pings

^A Erasim. Epist. lib. 2. epist. 1. lib. 16. epist. 3.

pings of his horses ^B. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross: But not content with this parade, to which he thought himself intitled as cardinal, he provided another priest, of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury; contrary to the antient rule and agreement between the prelates of these rival sees ^C. The people made merry with the cardinal's ostentation; and said they were now sensible, that one cross alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his sins and offences.

C H A P.
XXVIII.
1515.

WARHAM, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averse to all disputes, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor; and the great seal was immediately intrusted to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of dignity encreased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity ^D.

THE duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almost entirely exhausted by projects and pleasures, while his inclination for expence still continued, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox bishop of Winchester, reaped no advantage from his absence; but partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey, withdrew himself entirely to the care of his diocese. The duke of Suffolk had also taken offence, that the king, by the cardinal's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey to enjoy without a rival the

B 2

whole

^B Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. Stowe, p. 501. Holingsh. p. 847. ^C Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. ^D Sir Thomas More. Stowe, p. 504.

CHAP. whole power and favour of the king; and they put into
 XXVIII. his hands every kind of authority. In vain, did Fox, be-
 1515. fore his retirement, warn the king "not to suffer the
 "servant to be greater than his master:" Henry replied,
 "that he knew well how to retain all his subjects in obe-
 "dience;" but he continued still an unlimited deference
 in every thing to the directions and counsels of the car-
 dinal.

THE public tranquillity was so well established in
 England, the obedience of the people so entire, the ge-
 neral administration of justice, by the cardinal's means^E,
 so exact, that no domestic occurrence happened conside-
 rable enough to disturb the repose of the king and his
 minister: They might even have dispensed with them-
 selves from giving any strict attention to foreign affairs,
 were it possible for men to enjoy any situation in absolute
 tranquillity, or abstain from projects and enterprizes,
 however fruitless and unnecessary.

*Scots af-
 fairs.*

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his
 widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the con-
 vention of states, which confirmed that destination, had
 expressly limited her authority to the condition of her
 remaining unmarried^F. But notwithstanding this limita-
 tion, a few months after her husband's death, she espoused
 the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a nobleman
 of great family and promising hopes. Some of the no-
 bility now proposed the election of Angus to the regency,
 and recommended this choice as the most likely means of
 preserving peace with England: But the jealousy of the
 great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglasses
 begot opposition to this measure. Lord Hume in parti-
 cular, the most powerful chieftain in the kingdom, in-
 sisted on recalling the duke of Albany, son to a brother
 of James the third, who had been banished into France,
 and who, having there married, had left posterity, that
 were the next heirs to the crown, and the nearest relati-
 ons to their young sovereign, Albany, though first prince
 of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally un-
 acquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of
 their situation, unpractised in their language; yet such
 was the favour attending the French alliance, and so great
 the

^E Erasmi. lib. 2. epist. 1. Cavendish, Hall.
 lib. 14. Drummond. Herbert.

^F Buchanan,

the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany some time in France; but at last, sensible how important it was to keep Scotland in his interests, he permitted him to go over, and take possession of the regency: He even renewed the antient league with that kingdom, though it implied such a close connexion, as might be thought somewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

WHEN the regent arrived in Scotland, he made enquiries concerning the state of the country, and character of the people; and discovered a scene, with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be considered as a confederacy, and that not a close one, of petty princes, than a regular system of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, possessed an authority very uncertain, and precarious. Arms, more than laws, prevailed; and courage, preferable to equity or justice, was the virtue most valued and respected. The nobility, in whom the whole power resided, were so connected by hereditary alliances, or so divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impossible, without employing an armed force, either to punish the most flagrant guilt, or give security to the most entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exercised on a hostile tribe, instead of making a person odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to esteem and approbation; and by rendering him useful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And though the necessity of mutual support served as a close cement of amity among those of the same kindred, the spirit of revenge against enemies, and the desire of prosecuting these deadly feuds, (so they were called) still appeared to be passions the most predominant among that uncultivated people.

THE persons, to whom Albany first applied for information with regard to the state of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume^G; and they represented that powerful nobleman as the chief source of public disorders, and the great obstacle to the execution of the laws, and administration of justice. Before the authority of the magistrate could be established, it was necessary,

^G Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond.

CHAP. necessary, they said, to make an example of this great
 XXVIII. offender; and by the terror of his punishment; teach all
 1515. lesser criminals to pay respect to the power of their so-
 vereign. Albany, moved by these reasons, was induced
 to forget Hume's past services, to which he had been, in
 a great measure, beholden for the regency; and he no
 longer bore towards him that favourable countenance,
 with which he was wont to receive him. Hume per-
 ceived the change, and was incited, both by views of
 his own security and his revenge, to take measures in op-
 position to the regent. He applied himself to Angus and
 the queen dowager, and represented to them the danger,
 to which the infant prince was exposed, from the ambi-
 tion of Albany, the next heir to the crown, to whom
 the states had imprudently entrusted the whole authority
 of government. By his persuasion, Margaret formed
 the design of carrying off the young King, and putting
 him under the protection of her brother; and when that
 conspiracy was detected, she herself, accompanied with
 Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where she
 was soon after delivered of a daughter.

HENRY, in order to check the authority of Albany
 and the French party, gave encouragement to these mal-
 contents, and assured them of his support. Matters be-
 ing afterwards in appearance accommodated between
 Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his
 own country; but mutual suspicions and jealousies still
 prevailed. He was committed to custody, under the care
 of the earl of Arran, his brother-in-law; and was, for
 some time, detained prisoner in his castle. But having
 persuaded Arran to enter into the conspiracy with him,
 he was allowed to make his escape; and he openly made
 war upon the regent. A new accommodation ensued,
 not more sincere than the foregoing; and Hume was so
 imprudent as to put himself, together with his brother,
 into the hands of the regent. They were immediately
 seized, committed to custody, brought to their trial,
 condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved
 against these brothers: It was only alledged, that, at the
 battle of Flouden, they had not done their duty in sup-
 porting the king; and as this backwardness could not,
 from the course of their past life, be ascribed to cowar-
 dice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal mo-
 tive. The evidences, however, of guilt produced against
 them,

them, were far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while alive, were very much dissatisfied with their execution. C H A P. XXVIII.

SUCH violent remedies often produce, for some time, a deceitful tranquillity; but as they destroy mutual confidence, and beget the most inveterate animosities, their consequences are commonly very fatal both to the public, and to those who make trial of them. The regent, however, took advantage of the present calm which prevailed; and being invited over by the French king, who was, at that time, willing to gratify Henry, he went into France; and was engaged to remain there during five years. A great part of his authority he entrusted into the hands of Darcy, a Frenchman, whom he created warden of the marches, and who was extremely vigilant in the distribution of justice, and the punishment of crimes and oppression. But Sir David Hume, a kinsman of the nobleman lately executed, desirous of revenging his friend's death on the friend of the regent, way-laid Darcy near Dunse; and after reproaching him with that execution, made an attack upon him. Darcy finding himself unable to resist, and trusting to the swiftness of his horse, fled towards Dunbar; but being ignorant of the roads, he ran into a bog, was overtaken by the pursuers, and put to death. As he had long flowing hair, Hume, exulting in this assassination as a gallant exploit, cut off these locks, and plaiting them into a wreath, wore them ever after at the pomel of his saddle^H. During the absence of the regent, such confusions prevailed in Scotland, and such mutual enmity, rapine, and violence among the great families, that that kingdom was, for a long time, utterly disabled both from offending its enemies, and assisting its friends. We have carried on the Scots history some years beyond the present period; that as that country had little connexion with the general system of Europe, we might be the less interrupted in the narration of those memorable events, which were transacted in the other kingdoms.

It was foreseen, that a young, active prince, like Francis, and of so martial a disposition, would soon employ the great preparations, which his predecessor, before his death, had made for the conquest of Milan. He had been observed even to weep at the recital of the military exploits

^H Buchanan, lib. 14. Pitscottie.

CHAP. exploits of Gaston de Foix; and these tears of emulation
 XXVIII. were held to be sure prognostics of his future valour. He
 renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry;
 1515. and having left every thing, as he thought, secure behind him, he marched his armies towards the south of France; pretending, that his sole purpose was to defend his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. That formidable people still retained their animosity against France; and having taken Maximilian, duke of Milan, under their protection, and indeed reduced him to absolute dependence, they were determined, from views both of honour and of interest, to guard him against this invader¹. They fortified themselves in all those vallies of the Alps, through which, they thought, the French must necessarily pass; and when Francis, with great secrecy, industry, and perseverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another passage, they were not dismayed, but descended into the plain, though unprovided of cavalry, and opposed themselves to the progress of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, they fought with Francis one of the most furious and best contested battles, which is to be met with in the history of these latter ages; and it required all the heroic valour of that prince to inspire his troops with courage sufficient to resist the desperate assault of those mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkness parted the combatants; but next morning, the Swiss renewed the attack with equal alacrity; and it was not till they had lost all their bravest troops that they could be prevailed with to retire. The field was strowed with twenty thousand slain of both sides; and the mareschal Trivulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement, which he had yet seen, was only the play of children; but that the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes².

*Progress
of Francis
the first.*

13th Sept.

AFTER this great victory, the conquest of the Milanese was easy and open. Francis, sensible how important the alliance of the cantons was, even in their lowest fortune, gave them all the conditions, which they could have demanded, had they been ever so successful; and he courted their friendship by every possible condescension.
 The

¹ Memoires du Bellai, lib. 1.
² Histoire de la Ligue de Cambray.

Guicciardini, lib. 12.

The Venetians were in alliance with France; and as they trusted entirely to the successes of that crown for the final recovery of their dominions on the continent, they seconded Francis in every enterprize. Pope Leo, whose sole fault was too great finesse and artifice, a fault, which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid, had hitherto temporized between the parties; and Francis's victory at Marignan determined him absolutely to embrace the friendship of that monarch^L. But what both facilitated most, and secured the conquest of the Milaneze, was the resolution taken by Maximilian Sforza himself, who, tired of the vicissitudes of his fortune, disgusted with the tyranny of the Swiss, and desirous of privacy and repose, put himself into Francis's hands; and having stipulated a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats, resigned all pretensions to that dutchy, and retired into France.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1515.

THE success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and his rapid progress, though in so distant a country, was not regarded without apprehensions by the English ministry. Italy was during that age the seat of religion, of literature, and of commerce; and as it possessed alone that lustre, which has since been shared among other nations, it fixed the attention of all Europe; and every acquisition, which was made there, appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power should, strictly speaking, have made it be esteemed. Henry also thought, that he had reason to complain of Francis for sending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his sister, the queen dowager^M. The repairing the fortifications of Teroëenne was also regarded as a breach of treaty. But above all, what tended to alienate the court of England, was the disgust which Wolsey had taken against the French monarch.

HENRY, on the conquest of Tournay, had refused to admit Lewis Gaillart, the bishop elect, to the possession of the temporalities, because that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign; and Wolsey was appointed, in his room, administrator of the bishopric. As the cardinal wished to obtain free and undisturbed possession,

^L Guicciardini, lib. 12. Paullus Jovius.
vol. iii. p. 31.

^M Pere Daniel,

CHAP. possession, he applied to Francis, and desired him to bestow on Gaillart some fee of equal value in France, and to obtain his resignation of Tournay. Francis, who still

1515. hoped to recover possession of that city, and who feared, that the full establishment of Wolsey in the bishopric would prove an obstacle to his purpose, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the bishop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his settlement in that see. Wolsey, who expected to be complied with in every request, and who exacted respect even from the greatest monarchs, resented the slight put upon him by Francis; and he pushed his master to seek an occasion for wreaking his vengeance against that monarch ^N.

MAXIMILIAN the emperor was ready to embrace every proposal of a new enterprize; especially if attended with an offer of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very necessitous. Richard Pace, formerly secretary to cardinal Bambridge, now secretary of state, was dispatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commission to propose some considerable payments to Maximilian ^O. He thence made a journey into Switzerland; and by like motives engaged some of the cantons to furnish troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a considerable army; but being repulsed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, delivered Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself, in some measure, from all future access into Italy. And Henry found, that, after expending five or six hundred thousand ducats, in order to gratify the cardinal's resentment, he had only loosened his alliance with Francis, without diminishing the power of that prince.

THERE were many reasons, which engaged the king not to proceed farther at present in his enmity against France: He could hope for assistance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was now declining fast through age and infirmities; and a speedy period was looked for to the long and prosperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, sovereign of the Low Countries, desired nothing

^N Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. ^O Petrus de Angleria, epist. 568.

nothing but peace with Francis, who had it so much in his power, if provoked, to obstruct his peaceable accession to that rich inheritance, which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a close alliance with that monarchy^P. Henry therefore was constrained to remain in tranquillity during some time; and seemed to give himself no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into some expence, by offering to make a resignation of the imperial crown in his favour. That artifice was too gross to succeed even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him. C H A P. XXVIII. 1515.

WHILE an universal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened, which had so long been looked for, and from which such important consequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Chatholic, and the succession of his grandson, Charles, to his extensive dominions. No commotion, however, or alteration followed immediately upon that great incident. This young prince, who had not yet reached his sixteenth year, was already an able statesman, from the excellent education which he had received, and from the mature and solid judgment, with which nature had endowed him. He was sensible how important it was to preserve peace with foreigners, till he should have established his authority in his new dominions; and finding Francis desirous to take advantage of his present situation, he made him an offer of such terms as gained the friendship and alliance of that monarch. He engaged to marry Francis's daughter, tho' only an infant of a year old; to receive as her dowry all her father's pretensions on the kingdom of Naples; to pay him a hundred thousand crowns a year, till the consummation of the marriage; and to give the king of Navarre satisfaction with regard to his dominions^Q. Charles, having finished this treaty at Noyon by his ministers, and having thus left every thing in security behind him, departed for Spain, and was willingly received to the government of 1516. 15th Jan.

^P Guicciardini, lib. 12. ^Q Recueil de Traités par Leopard, tom. ii.

CHAP. of the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. The
 XXVIII. right of succession lay in his mother, Joan, who was still
 alive; but as she was usually disordered in her judgment,
 1517. Ferdinand had left the administration to his grandson,
 Charles; and the states, both of Castile and Arragon,
 gave their consent to this destination.

THE more Charles advanced in power and authority,
 the more was Francis sensible of the necessity he lay un-
 der of gaining the confidence and friendship of Henry;
 and he took at last the only method by which he could
 obtain success, the paying court, by presents and flattery,
 to the haughty cardinal.

1518. BONNIVET, admiral of France, was dispatched to
 London, and he was directed to employ all his insinuation
 and address, qualities in which he excelled, to procure
 himself a place in Wolsey's good graces. After the am-
 bassador had succeeded in his purpose, he took an oppor-
 tunity of expressing his master's regret, that, by mistakes
 and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to
 lose a friendship, which he so much valued as that of his
 eminence. Wolsey was not deaf to these honourable ad-
 vances from so great a monarch; and he was thenceforth
 observed to express himself, on all occasions, in favour
 of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his
 interests, Francis entered into such confidence with him,
 that he asked his advice even in the most secret affairs;
 and on all difficult emergencies had recourse to him as to
 an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The cardinal
 made no secret to the king of this private correspondence;
 and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great ca-
 pacity of his minister, that, he said, he verily believed
 he would govern Francis as well as himself^R.

WHEN matters seemed sufficiently prepared, Bonni-
 vet opened to the cardinal his master's desire of recover-
 ing Tournay; and Wolsey immediately, without hesita-
 tion, engaged to effectuate his purpose. He took an op-
 portunity of representing to the king and council, that
 Tournay lay so remote from Calais, that it would be ve-
 ry difficult, if not impossible, in case of a war, to keep
 the communication open between these two places: That
 as it was situate on the frontiers both of France and the
 Netherlands, it was exposed to attacks from both these
 countries, and must necessarily, either by force or famine,
 fall

^R Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

fall into the hands of the first assailant: That even in time of peace, it could not be preserved without a large garrison, to restrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever discontented with the English government: And that the possession of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expensive, so was it entirely useless, and gave little or no means to annoy, on occasion, the dominions, either of Charles or of Francis.

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THESE reasons were of themselves convincing, and were sure of meeting with no opposition, when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty therefore was entered into for the delivering up of Tournay; and in order to give to that measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed, that the dauphin and the princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Such kinds of agreement were then common among sovereigns, though it was very rare, that the interests and views of the parties continued so steady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But as Henry had been at considerable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him 600,000 crowns at twelve yearly payments, and to put into his hands eight hostages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article ^s. And lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, he promised him a yearly pension of twelve thousand livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay. He also engaged to recall Albany from Scotland.

*Tournay
delivered
to France.*

FRANCIS having succeeded so well in this negotiation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more considerable advantages, by practising on the vanity and self-conceit of this favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal, consulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter, *father, tutor, governor*, and professed the most unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All those caresses were preparatives to a negotiation for the delivery of Calais, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid for it; and if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular spite to Wolsey, on account of his being dispossessed of his employment and thrown into prison by that minister, so extraordinary

^s Memoires du Bellay, liv. 1.

CHAP. XXVIII. extraordinary a proposal met with a very favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council: He was contented to found privately the opinions of the other ministers, by dropping hints in conversation, as if he thought Calais a useless burthen to the kingdom^T: But when he found, that all men were strongly riveted in a contrary persuasion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpose; and falling, soon after, into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendship between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

Wolsey appointed legate.

THE enormous pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by a great accession of dignity and power which he had received. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppose the progress of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Christendom, but which had been so often employed to serve the interested purposes of the court of Rome, that it had lost all influence on the minds of the people. The clergy refused to comply with Leo's demands: Campeggio was recalled; and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legatine power; together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries, and even with suspending all the laws of the church during a twelve-month. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade, to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not contented without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: Not only he had bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank superior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham, the primate, having wrote him a letter where he subscribed himself, *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption, in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. "Know ye not," said he, "that 'this man is drunk with too much prosperity?'"

BUT Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he

^T Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

he called the legantine court; and as he was now, by CHAP.
means of the pope's commission and the king's favour, XXVIII.
invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no
man knew what bounds were to be set to the authority of
this new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquisi-
torial and censorial powers even over the laity, and di-
rected it to examine into all matters of conscience; into
all conduct which had given scandal; into all actions,
which, though they escaped the law, might appear con-
trary to good morals. Offence was justly taken at this
commission, which was really unbounded; and the peo-
ple were the more disgusted, when they saw a man,
who indulged himself in the licenses of pleasure, so se-
vere in repressing the least appearance of immorality in
others. But to render his court more obnoxious, Wolsey
made one John Allen judge in it, a person of scandalous
life ^u, whom he himself, as chancellor, had condemned
for perjury: And as this man either exacted fines from
every one whom he was pleased to find guilty, or took
bribes to drop prosecutions, men concluded, and with
some appearance of reason, that he shared with the car-
dinal these wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in parti-
cular the monks, were exposed to this tyranny; and as
the libertinism of their lives often gave a just handle
against them, they were obliged to buy an indemnity, by
paying large sums of money to the legate or his judge.
Not contented with this authority, Wolsey pretended,
by virtue of his commission, to assume the power of all
the bishops' courts; particularly that of judging of Wills
and Testaments; and his decisions in these important
points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he him-
self were pope, and as if the pope could dispose absolute-
ly of every ecclesiastical establishment, he presented to
whatever priories or benefices he pleased, without regard
to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage
in the nobility and gentry ^w.

1518.

No

^u Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 125.

^w Polydore Virgil, lib. 27. This whole narration has been
copied by all the historians from the author here cited: There
are many circumstances, however, very suspicious; both because
of the obvious partiality of the historian, and because the
parliament, when they afterwards examined Wolsey's conduct,
could find no proof of any material crime he had committed.

CHAP. No one durst carry to the king any complaint against
 XVIII. these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to in-
 form him of the discontents of his people. Henry pro-
 1519. fessed his ignorance of the whole matter. "A man,"
 said he, "is not so blind any where as in his own house :
 "But do you, father," added he, to the primate, "go
 "to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss that
 "he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely
 to be effectual: It only served to augment Wolsey's en-
 mity to Warham: But one London having prosecuted
 Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having
 convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour
 at last reached the king's ears; and he expressed such dis-
 pleasure to the cardinal, as made him ever after more cau-
 tious in exerting his authority ^x.

12th Jan.
 Death of
 the empe-
 ror Maxi-
 milian.

WHILE Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and
 amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to
 this imperious minister, an incident happened abroad,
 which excited his attention. Maximilian the emperor
 died, a man, who, of himself, was indeed of little con-
 sequence; but as his death left vacant the first station
 among christian princes, it put all mens spirits in agitation,
 and proved a kind of æra in the general system of Europe.
 The kings of France and Spain immediately declared
 themselves candidates for the imperial crown; and em-
 ployed every expedient of money or intrigue, which pro-
 mised them success in so great a point of ambition. Hen-
 ry also was encouraged to put in his pretensions; but his
 minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors,
 found that he began to solicit too late, and that the votes
 of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on
 one side or the other.

FRANCIS and Charles made profession from the be-
 ginning of carrying on this rivalry with emulation, but
 without enmity; and Francis in particular declared, that
 his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly suitors
 to the same mistress: The more fortunate, added he,
 will

^x This year and the foregoing the sweating sickness raged
 anew in England. It was called *Sudor Anglicus*, because few,
 except the English nation, were attacked by it. Its malignity
 was such, that it commonly killed within three hours of its
 commencement. Some towns lost by it an half, others two
 thirds of their inhabitants.

will carry her; and the other must rest contented^M. But **C H A P. XXVIII.** all men apprehended, that this extreme moderation, however reasonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to sharpen the minds of the candidates against each other. It was Charles who at last prevailed, to the great disappointment of the French monarch, who still continued to the last in the belief, that the majority of the electoral college was engaged in his favour. And as he was some years superior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan, and conquest of the Milanese, much superior in renown, he could not suppress his indignation, at being thus, in the face of all mankind, after long and anxious expectation, postponed in so important a pretension. From this competition, as much as from opposition of interests, arose that emulation between those two great monarchs, which, while it kept their whole age in movement, sets them in so remarkable a contrast to each other: Both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aspiring, active, industrious; beloved by their servants and subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, close, artificial, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and in negotiations, especially the latter. The one, the more amiable man; the other, the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: The emperor, by his designing, interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy and opposition even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had subdued. And as the personal qualities of these princes thus counterpoised each other, so did the advantages and disadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up of a sudden so great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, of Burgundy: He inherited the conquest of Naples, of Granada: Election entitled him to the empire:

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C

pire:

^M Belcario, lib. 16. Guisicardin, lib. 13.

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pire: Even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrisled, of the new world. But though the concurrence of all these advantages formed an empire, greater and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interposed between all the provinces of Charles's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him.

HENRY possessed that felicity, of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater prince than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this king was in his character heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his passions or his favourite: vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftner by resentment, seldom by his true interest. And thus, though he triumphed in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or that of his kingdom.

*Interview
between
Henry
and Francis
at Calais.*

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He solicited an interview near Calais; in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey earnestly seconded this proposal; and hoped, in the presence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his splendor, and his influence over both monarchs^N. And as Henry himself loved pomp and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French King, he very cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations strove to surpass each other in pomp and expence: Many of them involved themselves in large debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain splendor of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was somewhat addicted to frugality, finding the

^N Polydore Virgil, lib. 27.

the preparations for this festival amount to immense sums, C H A P. threw out some expressions of displeasure against the car- XXVIII. dinal, whom he believed the author of that measure^o: An imprudence which was not forgot by that minister. 1520.

WHILE Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he was surprized to hear that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately hastened thither with the queen, in order to give a suitable reception to his royal guest. That great prince, politic though young, having heard of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and was resolved to take the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king still a higher compliment, by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he strove by every testimony of friendship, by flatteries, protestations, promises and presents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition of the cardinal. He here instilled into this aspiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, it was sure to attract his wishes with the same ardour, as if fortune had never, as yet, favoured him with any of her presents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's assistance, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promises, because Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely, that, for many years, he would be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry easily observed this courtship paid to his minister; but instead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a subject of vanity; and believed, that, as Wolsey's sole support was his favour, the obeisance of such mighty monarchs to his servant, was in reality a more conspicuous homage to his own grandeur.

THE day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and from thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met, for the first time, in the fields, at a place situate between these two towns, but still within the English pale: For Francis

C 2

agreed

^o Ibid. lib. xxvii. Herbert. Holingshed, p. 855.

CHAP. agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration
 XXVIII. of that prince's passing the sea, that he might be present
 at the interview. Wolfey, to whom both kings had entrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance, in order to do honour to his master.

1520.

THE two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpose, and they held a secret conference together. Henry here proposed to make some amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, *I Henry, King*: These were the first words; and he stopt a moment. He subjoined only the words, *of England*, without adding, *France*, the usual style of the English monarchs^L. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed by a smile his approbation of it.

HE took an opportunity soon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himself, and incapable of distrusting others, was shocked at all the precautions which were observed, whenever he had an interview with the English monarch: The number of their guards and attendants was carefully counted on both sides: Every step was scrupulously measured and adjusted: And if the two kings proposed to pay a visit to the queens, they departed from their several quarters at the same instant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle point between the places; and at the same instant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremony, which contained so many dishonourable implications, Francis, one day, took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode directly into Guisnes. The guards were surprized at the presence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, *You are all my prisoners: Carry me to your master*. Henry was equally astonished at the appearance of Francis; and taking him in his arms, "My brother," said he, "you have here played me the most agreeable trick in the world, and have shewed me the full confidence I may place in you: I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth

^L Memoirs de Fleuranges.

worth 15000 angels ^M; and putting it about Francis's, CHAP. begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed, but on condition that Henry should wear a bracelet, of which he made him a present, and which was double in value to the collar ^N. The king went next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants; and confidence being now fully established between the monarchs, they employed the rest of the time entirely in tournaments and festivals. XXVIII. 1520.

A DEFIANCE had been sent by the two Kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing, that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tourney, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horseback, Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were gorgeously apparelled; and were both of them the most comely personages of their age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several horses and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter, whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he here feasted the French monarch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an English archer embroidered on it, *Cui ad hæreo præest; He prevails whom I favour* ^O: Expressing his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In these entertainments more than in any serious business, did the two kings pass their time, till their departure.

HENRY, after his return to Calais, paid a visit to 24th June. the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression, which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship,

^M An angel was then estimated at seven shillings, or near twelve of our present money.

^N Memoires de Fleuranges. ^O Mezeray.

CH A P. friendship, to which the frank and liberal nature of
 XXVIII. Francis had given birth. As the house of Austria began
 sensibly to take the ascendant over the French monarchy,
 1521. the interests of England required, that some support should
 be given to the latter, and above all, that any important
 wars should be prevented, which might bestow on either
 of them a decisive superiority over the other. But the
 jealousy of the English against France has ever prevent-
 ed a cordial union between these nations: And Charles,
 sensible of this hereditary animosity, and desirous farther
 to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer, (an
 offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur)
 that he should be entire arbiter in any dispute or difference
 that should arise between the monarchs. But the great
 masterpiece of Charles's politics was the securing Wolsey
 in his interests, by very important services, and still
 higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him
 in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in present pos-
 session of the revenues, belonging to the sees of Badajoz
 and Palencia in Castile. The acquisitions of Wolsey
 were now become so exorbitant, that, joined to the pen-
 sions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to
 possess, his revenues were computed nearly to equal those
 which belonged to the crown itself; and he spent them
 with a magnificence, or rather an ostentation, which gave
 general offence to the people; and much lessened his
 master in the eyes of all foreign nations.

*War be-
 tween
 Charles
 and Fran-
 cis.*

THE violent personal emulation and political jealousy,
 which had taken place between the emperor and the
 French king, soon broke out in action. Francis sent an
 army into Navarre under the command of de Foix, in or-
 der to replace the family of Albert in possession of that
 kingdom; and this enterprize could not have been com-
 plained of as a breach of treaty, had de Foix confined
 himself to that equitable undertaking. But after he had
 subdued Navarre, finding Spain in great disorder from
 the insurrections of the people, he thought the opportu-
 nity favourable, and he ventured, with Francis's appro-
 bation, to lay siege to Logrogno in Castile. This inva-
 sion, contrary to what was expected, put an end to the
 domestic dissensions of the Castilians; who attacked the
 French, obliged them to raise the siege, pursued the ad-
 vantage

P Polydore Virgil. Hall.

vantage, and entirely expelled them from Navarre, which CHAP. has ever since remained united with the Spanish monarchy. XXVIII. Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, and prince of Sedan, having received some disgust from the government of the Low Countries, had taken arms and invaded those provinces; and had even sent a challenge or defiance to the emperor himself^A: A boldness, which seemed entirely unaccountable, except on the supposition that this petty prince received secret encouragement from Francis. On the other hand, Charles, in order to chastise the insolence of Robert, had levied a powerful army, and advanced to the frontiers of France, which he threatened with an invasion. Hostilities were soon carried farther; his generals besieged Mouson, which they took; they invested Mezieres, where they met with a repulse. In Italy likewise the two monarchs were not inactive. Francis negotiated with the pope, in order to engage him to concur in expelling the imperialists from Naples: But Charles had the address to finish his league with the same power for expelling the French from Milan; and the united arms of the allies had invaded that dutchy, and had almost entirely finished their enterprize.

1521.

WHILE these ambitious and warlike princes were acting in a hostile manner against each other in every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them carried incessantly their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The *Mediation* King, who appeared neutral, engaged them to send their *of Henry.* ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well acquainted with the partiality of these mediators; and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable, as plainly proved him conscious of this advantage. He required the restitution of Burgundy, a province, which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his possession, would have given him access into the midst of that kingdom: And he demanded to be freed from the homage, which his ancestors had ever paid for Flanders and Artois, and which he himself had, by the treaty of Noyon, promised to renew. On Francis's rejecting those terms, the congress

^A Vera, hist. de Charl. V.^B Memoires de Bellay, lib. 1.

CHAP. gress at Calais broke up, and Wolsey, soon after, took
XXVIII. a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor.

He was received with the same state, magnificence, and respect, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded in his master's name an offensive alliance with the pope and the emperor against France. He engaged, that England should next summer invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the result of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

*Trial and
condem-
nation of
the duke of
Bucking-
ham.*

THE people saw every day new instances of the uncontrouled authority of this minister. The duke of Buckingham, constable of England, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had been so unfortunate as to give disgust to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reason to repent his indiscretion. He seems to have been a man full of levity and rash projects; and being infatuated with judicial astrology, he entertained commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was descended by a female from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward the third; and though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been so imprudent as to let fall some expressions, as if he thought himself best intitled, in case the king should die without issue, to possess the royal dignity. He had not even abstained from threats against the king's life, and had provided himself of arms, which he intended to employ, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord steward, in order to preside at this solemn procedure. The jury consisted of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict against Buckingham, which was soon after carried into execution. There is no reason to think the sentence unjust^s; but as
Buckingham's

^s Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 513. Holingshed, p. 862.

Buckingham's crimes seemed to proceed more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, the people who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and ascribed their disappointment to the malice and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealousy, however, of all persons allied to the crown, was, notwithstanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole course of his reign; and was alone sufficient to render him implacable against Buckingham. The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived by Henry.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

1541.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIX.

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state. — Origin of the reformation. — Martin Luther. — Henry receives the title of Defender of the Faith. — Causes of the progress of the reformation. — War with France. — Invasion of France. — War with Scotland. — A Parliament. — Invasion of France. — Italian wars. — The king of France invades Italy. — Battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis. — Francis recovers his liberty. — Sack of Rome. — League with France.

CHAP.
XXIX.

1521.

DURING some years, many parts of Europe had been agitated with those religious controversies, which produced the reformation, one of the greatest events in history: But as it was not till this time, that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occasion to give any account of its rise and progress. It will now be necessary to explain these theological disputes; or what is more material, to trace from their origin those abuses, which so generally diffused the opinion, that a reformation of the church or ecclesiastical order was become highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary. We shall be better enabled to comprehend the subject, if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reasons, why there must be an ecclesiastical order, and a public establishment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the present occasion will, I hope, excuse this short digression.

Digression concerning the ecclesiastical state.

MOST of the arts and professions in a state are of such a nature, that, while they promote the interests of the society, they are also useful or agreeable to some individuals; and in that case, the constant rule of the magistrate, except, perhaps, on the first introduction of any art, is, to leave the profession to itself, and trust its encouragement to the individuals who reap the benefit of it. The artizans, finding their profits to rise by the favour of their customers, encrease, as much as possible, their skill and industry; and as matters are not disturbed by

by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always sure to be at all times exactly proportioned to the demand. C H A P. XXIX.

1521.

BUT there are also some callings which, though useful and even necessary in a state, bring no advantage nor pleasure to any individual; and the supreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of those professions. It must give them public encouragement in order to their subsistence; and it must provide against that negligence, to which they will naturally be subject, either by annexing particular honours to the profession, by establishing a long subordination of ranks and a strict dependance, or by some other expedient. The persons, employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magistracy, are instances of this order of men.

IT may naturally be thought, at first view, that the ecclesiastics belong to the first class, and that their encouragement, as well as that of lawyers and physicians, may safely be trusted to the liberality of individuals, who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or consolation from their spiritual ministry and assistance. Their industry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by such an additional motive; and their skill in the profession, as well as their address in governing the minds of the people, must receive daily increase, from their increasing practice, study, and attention.

BUT if we consider the matter more closely, we shall find, that this interested diligence of the clergy is what every wise legislator will study to prevent; because in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture of superstition, folly and delusion. Each ghostly practitioner, in order to render himself more precious and sacred in the eyes of his retainers, must inspire them with the most violent abhorrence against all other sects, and continually endeavour, by some novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that best suits the disorderly affections of the human frame. Customers will be drawn to each conventicle by new industry and address in practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. And in the end, the civil magistrate will find, that he has paid dearly for his pretended frugality, in saving a settled foundation for the

CHAP. the priests; and that in reality the most decent and advantageous composition, which he can make with the spiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by affixing stated salaries to their profession, and rendering it superfluous for them to be farther active, than merely to preserve their flock from straying in quest of new pastures. And in this manner ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly they arose at first from religious views, prove in the end advantageous to the political interests of society.

BUT we may observe, that few ecclesiastical establishments have been fixed upon a worse foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumstances more hurtful to the peace and happiness of mankind.

THE large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magistrate, and armed with too extensive authority an order of men, who always adhere closely together, and who never want a plausible pretence for their encroachments and usurpations. The higher dignities of the church served, indeed, to the support of gentry and nobility; but by the establishments of monasteries, many of the lowest vulgar were taken from the useful arts, and maintained in those receptacles of sloth and ignorance. The supreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by interests, always different, sometimes contrary to those of the community. And as the hierarchy was necessarily solicitous to preserve an unity of faith, rites and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifest risque of being extinguished; and violent persecutions, or what was worse, a stupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To encrease these evils, the church, though she possessed large revenues, was not contented with her acquisitions, but retained a power of practising farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even bestowed on each individual priest a power of enriching himself by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him still a powerful motive for diligence and industry in his calling. And thus, that church, though an expensive and burthensome establishment, was liable to many of the inconveniencies, which belong to an order of priests, trusted entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a subsistence.

THE

THE advantages, attending the Romish hierarchy, were but a small compensation for its inconveniencies. The ecclesiastical privileges, during barbarous times, had served as a cheque to the despotism of kings. The union of all the western churches under the supreme pontiff facilitated the intercourse of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a close connection with each other. And the pomp and splendor of worship, which belonged to so opulent an establishment, contributed in some respects, to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuse a general elegance of taste, by uniting it with religion.

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It will easily be conceived, that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romish church, this was not the chief reason, which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents must have contributed to forward that great work.

LEO the tenth, by his generous and enterprizing temper, had very much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to make use of every invention, which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. The scheme of selling indulgences was suggested to him, as an expedient which had often served in former times to draw money from the christian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of the saints, beyond what were employed in their own justification; and even to the merits of Christ himself, which were infinite and unbounded: And from this unexhausted treasury, the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purposes, the resisting the Turk, or subduing schismatics. When the money came into his treasury, the greatest part of it was usually diverted to other purposes ^A.

It is commonly believed, that Leo, from the penetration of his genius, and his familiarity with antient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and fallacy of the doctrines, which, as supreme pontiff, he was obliged by his interest to promote: And it is the less wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit those pi-
ous

^A Father Paul, Sleidan.

CHAP. XXIX. 1521. ^Bous frauds, which his predecessors, the most ignorant and credulous, had always, under plausible pretences, made use of for their selfish purposes. He published the sale of a general indulgence ^B; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated the income of this extraordinary expedient, the several branches of it were openly given away to particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The produce particularly, of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was assigned to his sister, Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural son of Innocent the eighth; and she, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoese, now a bishop, formerly a merchant, who still retained all the lucrative arts of his former profession ^C. The Austin friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration: But Arcemboldi, fearing, lest practice might have taught them means to secret the money ^D, and expecting no extraordinary success from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefit of indulgences by the most unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head, which, though not more ridiculous than those already received, were such as the ears of the people were not yet fully accustomed to. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this revenue are said to have lived very licentious lives, and to have spent in taverns, gaming houses, and places still more infamous, the money, which devout persons had saved from their usual expences, in order to purchase a remission of their sins ^E.

Martin Luther.

ALL these circumstances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not arisen a man, qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wirtemberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses in the sale of indulgences; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and being provoked by opposition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves; and he

^B In 1517.
lib. i.

^C Father Paul, Sleidan.
^E Ibid.

^D Father Paul,

was thence carried, by the heat of dispute, to question the authority of the pope, from which his adversaries derived their chief arguments against him ^F. Still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support these tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome; and finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermon, conference; and daily increased the number of his disciples: All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe were, in a very little time, filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, roused from that lethargy, in which they had so long slept, began to call in question the most ancient and most received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal jurisdiction: The republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model: Many sovereigns of the empire, and the imperial diet itself, shewed a favourable disposition towards it: And Luther, a man naturally inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement, or terrors of severity, to relinquish a sect, of which he was himself the founder, and which brought him a glory, superior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

THE rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and as there still subsisted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines gained secretly many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice against Luther, who, in his writings, spoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the King's favourite author: He opposed himself therefore to the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him: He even undertook to combat them with weapons not usually employed by monarchs, especially those in the flower of their age, and force of their passions. He wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther; a performance, which, if allowance be made for the subject and the age, does no discredit to his capacity. He sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony

^F Father Paul, Sleidan.

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CHAP. testimony of regard; and conferred on him, the title of
XXIX. *defender of the faith*; an appellation still retained by the
kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of con-

1521.

*Henry re-
ceives the
title of de-
fender of
the faith.*

troverſy, ſoon wrote an answer to Henry; and without regard to the dignity of his antagonist, treated him with all the acrimony of ſtyle, to which, in the courſe of his polemics, he had ſo long been accuſtomed. The king, by this ill uſage, was ſtill more prejudiced againſt the new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the diſpute^G. And as the controversy became more illuſtrious, by Henry's entering the liſts, it drew ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran doctrine acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe.

*Causes of
the pro-
greſs of the
reformati-
on.*

THE quick and ſurprizing progreſs of this bold ſect may juſtly in part be aſcribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: Not that reaſon bore any conſiderable ſhare, in opening men's eyes with regard to the impoſtures of the Romiſh church: For of all branches of literature, philoſophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the moſt inconfiderable progreſs; neither is there any inſtance where argument has been able to free the people from that enormous load of abuſe, with which ſuperſtition has every where overwhelmed them: Not to mention, that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence, with which it was embraced, prove ſufficiently, that it owed not its ſucceſs to reaſon and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progreſs in another manner. By means of that art, the books of Luther and his ſectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, ſomewhat awakened from a profound ſleep of ſo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and ſcrupled leſs to tread in any unuſual path, which was opened to them. And as copies of the Scriptures and other antient monuments of the Chriſtian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations, which were introduced after the firſt centuries; and though argument and reaſoning could not give conviction, an historical fact, well ſupported, was able to make impreſſion on their underſtandings. Many of the powers,

^G Father Paul, lib. 1.

powers, indeed, assumed by the church of Rome, were very antient, and were prior to almost every political government established in Europe: But as the ecclesiastics would not agree to possess their privileges as matters of civil right, which time could render valid, but appealed still to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

IN order to bestow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not satisfied with opposing the pretended divinity of the Romish church, and displaying the temporal inconveniencies of that establishment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable; foretold by sacred writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They denominated the pope anti-christ, called his communion the scarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expressions, which, however applied, were to be found in Scripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the most solid arguments. Excited by contest and persecution on the one hand, by success and applause on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greatest extremity their opposition against the church of Rome; and in contradiction to the multiplied superstitions, with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthusiastic strain of devotion, which admitted of no observances, rites or ceremonies, but placed all merit in a mysterious species of faith, in inward vision, rapture, and extacy. The new sectaries, seized with this spirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and set at defiance all the anathemas and punishments, with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

THAT the civil power, however, might afford them protection against the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable, in some respects, to the temporal authority of sovereigns. They inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally discontented; and exhorted princes to reinstate themselves in those powers, of which the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastics, and especially of the sovereign pontiff, had so long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monastic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to those who were ei-

CHAP. the tired of the obedience and chastity, or disgusted with
 XXIX: the licence, in which they had hitherto lived. They
 1521. blamed the excessive riches, the idleness, the libertinism
 of the clergy; and pointed out their treasures and reve-
 nues as lawful spoil to the first invader. And as the eccle-
 siastics had hitherto conducted a willing and a stupid au-
 dience, and were totally unacquainted with controversy,
 much more with every species of true literature; they
 were unable to defend themselves against men, armed
 with authorities, citations, and popular topics, and qua-
 lified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such
 were the advantages, with which the reformers began
 their attack of the Roman hierarchy; and such were the
 causes of their rapid and astonishing success.

1st Dec.

LEO the tenth, whose oversights and too supine trust
 in the profound ignorance of the people had given rise to
 this sect, but whose sound judgment, moderation and
 temper were well qualified to retard its progress, died in
 the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's
 book against Luther; and he was succeeded in the papal
 chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the
 emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the
 reformers by the integrity, candour, and simplicity of
 manners, which distinguished his character; but, so vio-
 lent were their prejudices against the church, he rather
 hurt the cause by his imprudent exercise of those virtues.
 He frankly confessed that many abominable and detestable
 practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this
 sincere avowal, he gave occasion of much triumph to the
 Lutherans. This pontiff also, whose penetration was not
 equal to his good intentions, was seduced to concur in that
 league, which Charles and Henry had formed against
 France^H; and he thereby augmented the scandal, occa-
 sioned by the practice of so many preceding popes, who
 still made their spiritual arms subservient to political pur-
 poses.

26th May.

THE emperor, Charles, who knew, that Wolsey had
 received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the
 election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of
 that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach
 made in their friendship by this incident. He paid a new
 visit to England, and besides flattering the vanity of the
 king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the prom-
 ises,

* Guicciardini, lib. 14.

mises, which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. Wolfey, sensible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promised a sudden vacancy, dissembled his resentment, and was willing to hope for a more prosperous issue of the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which some articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolfey for the revenues, which they should lose by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. After a stay of six weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he soon pacified the tumults, which had arisen in his absence¹.

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THE king declared war against France; and this measure was founded on so little reason, that he could alledge nothing as a ground of quarrel, but Francis's refusal to submit to his arbitration, and his sending Albany into Scotland. This last step had not been taken by the French king, till he was quite assured of Henry's resolution to attack him. Surrey landed some troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and after laying waste the country, he sailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The English merchants had great property in that place, which was no more spared by the soldiers, than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice-admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army, destined for the invasion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries under the command of the count de Buren, consisted in the whole of 18,000 men.

THE French had made it a maxim in all their wars with the English, since the reign of Charles the fifth, never, without great necessity, to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wise policy. He supplied the towns most exposed, especially Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, Hedin, with strong garrisons and plenty of provisions: He himself took post at Abbeville,

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with

¹ Petrus de Angleria, epist. 765.

CHAP. with some Swiss and French infantry, and a body of cavalry: The count of Guise encamped under Montreuil with six thousand men. These two bodies were in a situation to join upon occasion; to throw succour into any town that was threatened; and to harraßs the English in every movement. Surrey, who was not supplied with magazines, first divided his army for the convenience of subsisting them; but finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together the forces, and laid siege to Hedin. But neither did he succeed in this enterprize. The garrison made vigorous sallies upon his army: The French forces assaulted them from without: Great rains fell: Fatigue and bad weather threw the soldiers into dysenteries: And Surrey was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. His rear-guard was attacked at Pas in Artois; and five or six hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him master of one place within the French frontier.

THE allies were more successful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, lost a bloody battle at Bicocca near Milan; and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not supplying Lautrec with money^{*}, was followed by the loss of Genoa. The castle of Cremona was the sole fortress in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

EUROPE was now in such a situation, and so connected by alliance and interest, that it was almost impossible for war to be kindled in one part, and not diffuse itself through the whole: But of all the leagues among kingdoms, the closest was that which had so long subsisted between France and Scotland; and the English, while at war with the former nation, could not expect to remain long unmolested on the northern frontier. No sooner had Albany arrived in Scotland, than he took measures for kindling a war with England; and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roslin^L. He thence conducted the army southwards into Annandale; and prepared to pass the borders at Solway-Frith. But many of the nobility were disgusted with the

*War with
Scotland.*

^{*} Guicciardini, lib. 14.
mond. Pitcottie.

^L Buchanan, lib. 14. Drum-

the regent's administration; and observing, that his connections with his native country were very feeble in comparison of those which he maintained with France, they murmured, that for the sake of foreign interests, their peace should be so often disturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation, so much superior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refused to march any farther; and Albany, observing a general discontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Darnley, warden of the English west marches. Soon after he departed for France; and lest the opposite faction should gather force in his absence, he sent thither before him the earl of Angus, husband to the queen dowager.

NEXT year, Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's absence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale without opposition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them: The two Humes had been put to death: Angus was in a manner banished: No nobleman of vigour or authority remained, who was qualified to assume the government: And the English monarch, who knew the distressed situation of the country, determined to push them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the sense of their present miseries, to make a solemn renunciation of the French alliance, and embrace that of England^B. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heiress of England, and their young monarch; an expedient, which would for ever unite the two kingdoms^C: And the queen dowager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They said, that the interests of Scotland had too long been sacrificed to those of the French nation, who, whenever they found themselves reduced to difficulties, called for the assistance of their allies; but were ready to abandon them, so soon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: That where a small state entered into so close a confederacy with a greater, it must always expect this treatment, as a consequence of the

^B Buchanan, lib. 14. Herbert. ^C Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 39.

CH A P. the unequal alliance; but that there were peculiar circumstances in the situation of the kingdoms, which, in the present case, rendered it inevitable: That France was so distant and so divided from them by seas, that she scarcely could by any means, and never could in time, send succours to the Scots, sufficient to protect them against ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: That nature had, in a manner, framed an alliance between the two British nations; having enclosed them in the same island: given them the same manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: And that, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be the effect of peace, these two kingdoms, secured by the ocean and by their domestic force, could set at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever safe and unmolested.

THE partizans of the French alliance, said, on the other hand, that the very reasons, which were urged in favour of a league with England, the close neighbourhood of the kingdom and its superior force, were the real causes, why a sincere and durable confederacy could never be framed with that hostile nation: That among neighbouring states, occasions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful people would be sure to seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing them to subjection: That as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almost perpetual between them, it was the interest of the Scots, if they wished to maintain their independency, to preserve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter; That if they deserted that old and salutary alliance, on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their antient enemies, stimulated both by interest and by passion, would soon invade them with superior force, and reduce them to subjection: Or if they delayed the attack, the insidious peace, by making the Scots lose the use of arms, would only prepare the way for a slavery more certain and more irretrievable^D.

THE arguments employed by the French party, being seconded by the natural prejudices of the people, seemed rather to prevail: And when the regent himself, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time

by

by the terror of the English fleet, at last appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that side. By authority of the convention of states, he assembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them southwards towards the borders. But when they were passing the Tweed at the bridge of Melros, the English party were again able to raise such opposition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards, along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp opposite to Werk-Castle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He sent over some troops to besiege that fortress, who made a breach in it, and stormed some of the outworks; But the regent, hearing of the approach of an English army, and discouraged by the advanced season, thought proper to disband his forces and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scots nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not, during several years, in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

THE reason, why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England was the want of money. All Henry the seventh's treasures were long since dissipated; the King's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary support of his government, much more to his military enterprizes. He had last year caused a general survey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men, their years, profession, stock, revenue^c; and expressed great satisfaction on finding the nation so opulent. He then issued privy seals to the most wealthy, demanding loans of particular sums; and this act of power, though somewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practised by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry carried his authority much farther on this occasion. He published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, which he still called a loan; and he levied five shillings in the pound from the clergy, two shillings from the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really
more

^c Herbert. Stowe, p. 514.

CHAP. more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a
 XXIX. precedent for the king's imposing taxes without consent
 of Parliament.

1523. HENRY summoned a Parliament this year, together
 15th Apr. with a convocation; and found neither of them in a dis-
 A Parlia- position to complain of the infringement of their privi-
 ment. leges. It was only doubted, how far they would carry
 their liberality to the king. Wolsey, who had undertaken
 the management of this affair, began with the convoca-
 tion; in hopes, that their example would influence the
 Parliament to grant a large supply. He demanded a
 moiety of their ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in five
 years, or two shillings in the pound during that time; and
 though he met with opposition, he reprimanded so se-
 verely the refractory members, that his request was at
 last complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended
 by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the
 house of commons; and in a long and elaborate speech
 laid before them the public necessities, the dangers of an
 invasion from Scotland, the affronts received from France,
 the league in which the king was engaged with the pope
 and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of 800,000
 pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a sum, com-
 puted from the late survey or valuation, to be equivalent
 to four shillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or
 one shilling in the pound yearly, according to the division
 proposed^E. So large a grant was unusual from the com-
 mons; and though the cardinal's demand was seconded
 by Sir Thomas More the speaker, and several other
 members attached to the court, the house could not be
 prevailed with to comply^F. They only voted two shil-
 lings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a
 year and upwards; one shilling on all who possessed be-
 tween twenty pounds and forty shillings a year; and on
 the other subjects above sixteen years of age a groat a-
 head. This last sum was divided into two yearly pay-
 ments; the former into four yearly payments, and was
 not therefore at the utmost above six-pence in the pound.

The

^E This survey or valuation is liable to much suspicion as fix-
 ing the rents a great deal too high: Unless the sum compre-
 hend the revenues of all kinds.

^F Herbert. Stowe, §18. Parliamentary History. Strype,
 vol. 1. p. 49, 50.

The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the sum demanded; and the cardinal therefore, much mortified with the disappointment, came again to the house, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told, that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and voted an imposition of three shillings in the pound on all possessed of fifty pounds a year, and upwards^c. The proceedings of this house of commons discover evidently the humour of the times: They were extremely tenacious of their money, and refused a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreasonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to pass uncensured, though its direct tendency was to subvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that, as he had not called a Parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse, before he summoned another. And on pretence of necessity, he levied, in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years^H; a new invasion of national privileges. These irregularities were commonly ascribed to the cardinal's counsels, who, trusting to the protection, afforded

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^c It is said, that when Henry heard that the commons made a great difficulty of granting the required supply, he was so provoked, that he sent for Edward Montague, one of the members, who had a considerable influence on the house; and he being introduced to his majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words: *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?* And laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: *Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off.* This cavalier manner of Henry succeeded: For next day the bill was passed. *Collins's British peerage. Grove's life of Wolsey.* We are told by Hall, fol. 38. That cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that it were better, that some should suffer indigence, than that the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor rustle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some people their heads. Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers.

^H Speed. Hall. Herbert.

CHAP. afforded him by his ecclesiastical character, was the less scrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

1523.

THAT ambitious prelate received this year a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The pope, Adrian the sixth, died; and Clement the seventh, of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey began now to perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. This injury was highly resented by the cardinal; and he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. Meanwhile he dissembled his resentment; and after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers, which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendship, granted him a commission for life; and by this unusual concession, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In some particulars, Wolsey made a good use of this extensive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich, the place of his nativity: He sought, all over Europe, for learned men to supply the chairs of these colleges: And in order to bestow endowments on them, he suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the less difficult for him, because the Romish church began to perceive, that she overabounded in monks, and that she wanted some supply of learning, in order to oppose the inquisitive, or rather disputative, humour of the new reformers.

THE confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever, on the opening of this campaign¹. Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to desert the French alliance, and to form engagements for the securing Sforza in possession of the Milanese. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the same measure. The emperor in person menaced France with a powerful invasion on the side of Guienne: The forces of England

and

¹ Guicciardini, lib. 14.

and the Netherlands seemed ready to break into Picardy: C H A P.
A numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage XXIX.
Burgundy: But all these perils from foreign enemies were
less threatening than a domestic conspiracy, which had
been forming, and which was now come to full maturity
against the French monarch. 1523.

CHARLES duke of Bourbon, constable of France, was a prince of the most shining merit; and, beside distinguishing himself in many military enterprizes, he was adorned with every accomplishment, which became a person of his high station. His virtues, embellished with the graces of youth, had made such impression on Louise of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without regard to the inequality of their years, she made him proposals of marriage; and meeting with a repulse, she formed schemes of unrelenting vengeance against him. She was a woman, false, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was considerable, acquired an absolute ascendant over her son. By her instigation, Francis put many affronts on the constable, which it was difficult for a gallant spirit to endure; and at last he permitted Louise to prosecute a lawsuit against him, by which, on the most frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample possessions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

BOURBON, provoked at all these indignities, and thinking, that, if any injuries could justify a man in rebelling against his prince and country, he must stand acquitted, had entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England^K. Francis, pertinacious in his design of recovering the Milanese, had proposed to lead his army in person into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned sickness, in order to have a pretence for staying behind, intended, so soon as the king had crossed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his design; but not being prompt enough in securing so dangerous a foe, the constable made his escape^L; and putting himself in the emperor's service, did all the injuries to his native country, which his enterprizing spirit and his great talents for war

^K Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

^L Belcarius, lib. 17.

CHAP. war enabled him to perform. Charles professed such regard for him, that he promised him his sister in marriage, Elconora, widow to Emanuel, king of Portugal; and when the constable came to Madrid, some time after, the emperor received him with all the demonstrations of friendship. He said to a Spanish grandee, that he must desire him, while Bourbon resided in that city, to allow him to take up his residence in his house, as most suitable to his rank and quality. The nobleman replied, with a Castilian dignity, that his majesty's desire was to him a sufficient reason; but he must tell him beforehand, that so soon as Bourbon departed, he would raze to the ground the house which had been polluted by the presence of such a traitor ^M.

24th Aug. The king of England, desirous that Francis should undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year with an invasion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the English forces, passed over to Calais. He was attended with the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen ^N. The English army, reinforced by some troops, drawn from the garrison of Calais, amounted to about 12,000 men; and having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invasion of France. The siege of Boulogne was first proposed; but that enterprize appearing difficult, it was thought more advisable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided of troops; and the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infested the allied army in their march, and threw garrisons, with great expedition, into every town, which was threatened by them. After coasting the Somme, and passing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the English and Flemings presented themselves before Bray, a place of small force, which commanded a bridge over the Somme. Here they were resolved to pass, and, if possible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himself into the town, and seemed determined to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and success; and when he retreated over the bridge, they pursued him so hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but passed it along

^M Guicciardini.

^N Herbert.

along with him, and put his army to route. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they besieged and took by capitulation. Meeting with no opposition, they proceeded to the river Oise, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation; till the duke of Vendôme hastened with some forces to its relief. The confederates, then, afraid of being surrounded, and reduced to extremities during so advanced a season, thought proper to retire. Montdidier was abandoned: And the English and Flemings went each into their own country.

FRANCE defended herself from the other invasions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thousand Lansquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furstenberg. The count of Guise, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppose them but some militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garrison-towns; and with his cavalry, he kept the field, and so harassed the Germans, that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guise attacked them as they passed the Meuse, put them into disorder, and cut off the greatest part of their rear.

THE emperor made great preparations on the side of Navarre; and, though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it seemed now exposed to danger from this powerful invasion which threatened it. Charles besieged Fontarabia, which had fallen a few years before into Francis's hands; and when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he raised the siege of a sudden, and sat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that stratagem, made a sudden march and threw himself into Bayonne, which he defended with such vigour and courage, that the Spaniards were constrained to raise the siege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this side, had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, sat down, in the winter season, before that city, well fortified and strongly garrisoned. The cowardice or misconduct of the governor saved him from the shame of a new disappointment. The place was surrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finished this enterprize, put his troops into winter quarters.

So

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XXIX.1523.
*Italian
wars.*

So obstinate was Francis in prosecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithstanding these numerous invasions, with which his kingdom was menaced on every side, he had determined to lead in person a powerful army to the conquest of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's revolt and escape stopped him at Lyons; and fearing some insurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man so powerful and so much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France; and to send forward his army, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The dutchy of Milan had been purposely left in a condition somewhat defenceless, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it; and no sooner had Bonnivet passed the Tesin, than the army of the league, and even Prosper Colonna, who commanded it, a very prudent general, were in the utmost confusion. It is agreed, that if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole dutchy depends, would have opened its gates without resistance: But as he wasted his time in frivolous enterprizes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garrison, and to put the place in a posture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took possession of all the posts which commanded the passages to it. But the army of the league, mean-while, was not inactive; and they so straitened and harassed the quarters of the French, that it seemed more likely the latter would themselves perish by famine, than reduce the city to that extremity. Sicknes and fatigue and want had wasted them to such a degree, that they were ready to raise the blockade; and their only hopes consisted in a great body of Swis, which was levied for the service of the French king, and whose arrival was every day expected.

THE Swis had in that age so great a superiority in the field above almost every other nation, and had been so much courted by all the great potentates of Europe, that they were become extremely capricious and haughty, and thought that the fate of kingdoms depended entirely on their assistance or opposition. Francis had promised to this body of mercenaries, whom he had hired to join Bonnivet, that so soon as they arrived in the plains of Piedmont, the duke of Longueville should join them with four hundred lances, and conduct them to the French camp: But by some accident Longueville's march

march had been retarded, and the Swiss had been obliged to march, without the honour of being escorted by him. Offended at this neglect, as they interpreted it, they no sooner came within sight of the French camp, than they stopped, and instead of joining Bonnavet, they sent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then served under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company ^o.

AFTER this desertion of the Swiss, Bonnavet had no other choice, but that of making his retreat, as fast as possible, into France. He accordingly put himself in motion for that purpose; but the allies, who foresaw this measure, were ready to fall upon his rear. The French army, however, after a sharp action, made good their retreat, though not without considerable loss both in officers and private men. Among the rest, fell in this action the brave chevalier Bayard, esteemed in that age the model of soldiers and men of honour, and denominated the *knight without fear and without reproach*. When this gallant gentleman felt his wounds to be mortal, and could no longer support himself on horseback, he ordered his attendants to set him under a tree, and turn his face towards the enemy, that he might die in that posture. The generals of the allies, and among the rest the duke of Bourbon, came about him, and expressed their concern for his present condition. "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon; "I die in the discharge of my duty: "They alone are the objects of pity, who fight against "their prince and country"."

THE French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, were satisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were resolved to prosecute their victory no farther. All these powers, especially Clement, had entertained a violent jealousy of the emperor's ambition; and their jealousy was extremely augmented, when they saw him refuse the investiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whose title he had acknowledged, and whose defence he had embraced. They all concluded, that he intended to put himself in possession of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to subjection: Clement in particular, actuated by this jealousy, proceeded so far in opposition to the

^o Guicciardini, lib. 15.

Memoires du Bellay, liv. 2.

^p Pere Daniel, vol. iii. p. 152.

^q Guicciardini, lib. 15.

CHAP. the emperor, that he sent orders to his nuncio at London
XXIX. to mediate a reconciliation between France and England.

1523.

But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolsey, disgusted with the emperor, but still more actuated by vain-glory, was determined, that he himself should have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invasion of France. Charles stipulated to supply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thousand crowns for the first month; after which, he might either chuse to continue the same monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army. Bourbon was to possess these provinces with the title of king; but to hold them in fief of Henry as king of France. The dutchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles: The rest of the kingdom to Henry.

THIS chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article, which was most easily performed; Bourbon refused to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterprize, however, against Provence still took place. A numerous army of Imperialists invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Pescara. They laid siege to Marseilles, which, being weakly garrisoned, they expected to carry in a little time: But the burgeses defended themselves with such valour and obstinacy, that Bourbon and Pescara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy.

FRANCIS might now have enjoyed in safety the glory of repulsing all his enemies, in every attempt which they had hitherto made of breaking into his kingdom: But as he received intelligence, that the king of England, discouraged by his former fruitless enterprizes, and disgusted with the emperor, was making no preparations for the invasion of Picardy, his antient ardour seized him for the conquest of Milan; and, notwithstanding the advanced season, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, to lead his army into Italy.

He

He passed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no sooner appeared in Piedmont, than he threw the whole Milanese into consternation. There was no army in the field able to oppose him; and Milan itself, though affectionate to its duke, was not in the same posture of defence as last year, when blockaded by admiral Bonnivet. It was almost destitute of inhabitants: Great numbers had died of the plague; and the rest had fled into the country for safety. Francis immediately marched to that city, which opened its gates to him. The forces of the emperor and Sforza fled to Lodi; and had Francis been so fortunate as to pursue them, they had abandoned that place, and had been totally dissipated ^A: But his ill fate led him to besiege Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. Every attempt, which the French king made to gain this important place, proved fruitless. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but by the vigilance of Leyva, new entrenchments were instantly thrown up behind the breaches: He attempted to divert the course of the Tesin, which ran by one side of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river destroyed in one night all the mounds, which the soldiers, during a long time, and with infinite pains, had been erecting. Fatigue and the bad season (for it was the depth of winter) had wasted the French army. And the more to diminish its force, Francis, at the pope's solicitation, who now declared, almost openly, for him, had detached a considerable body, under the duke of Albany, to invade the kingdom of Naples. The imperial generals mean while were not idle. Pescara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, gathered forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels for money, went into Germany, and with this money, aided by his personal interest, levied twelve thousand Landsquenets, with which he joined the imperialists. This army was advancing to raise the siege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

CHAP. XXIX.
1524-
The king of France invades Italy.

1525.

THE state of Europe was such, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and industry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extensive privileges still possessed by the people in all the

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great

^A Guicciardini, lib. 15. Du Bellay, lib. 2.

CHAP. great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting
 XXIX. money, the revenues of the princes were extremely
 narrow, and even the small armies, which they kept on
 1525. foot, could not be regularly paid by them. The imperial
 forces, commanded by Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy,
 exceeded not twenty thousand men; they were the only
 body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had
 not been able to levy any army for the invasion of France,
 either on the side of Spain or Flanders.) Yet so poor
 was that mighty monarch, that he could transmit no mo-
 ney for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the
 hopes of sharing the plunder of the French camp, which
 had made them advance, and kept them to their stand-
 ards. Had Francis raised the siege before their approach,
 and retired to Milan, they must immediately have dis-
 persed themselves; and he had obtained a complete vic-
 tory, without danger or bloodshed. But it was the cha-
 racter of this monarch, to become obstinate in proportion
 to the difficulties which he encountered; and having
 once said, that he would take Pavia, or perish before it,
 he was resolved rather to endure the utmost extremities
 than depart from this resolution.

*25th Fe- The imperial generals, after cannonading the French
 bruary. camp for several days, at last gave a general assault, and
 Battle of broke into the entrenchments. Leyva sallied from the
 Pavia, and town, and threw the besiegers into still greater confusi-
 on. The Swiss infantry, contrary to their usual practice,
 of Francis. behaved in a dastardly manner, and deserted their post.
 Francis's whole army was put to rout; and he himself,
 surrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic va-
 lour, and killing seven men with his own hand, was at
 last obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Almost the
 whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either
 perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river.
 The few, who escaped with their lives, fell into the
 hands of the enemy. The imperial generals had so little
 authority over their own troops, even after this signal
 victory, that Lannoy, apprehensive lest the Lansquenets
 should seize Francis as security for the pay due to them,
 immediately removed him from the camp, and sent him
 to Pizzighitone. And taking advantage of the terrors,
 which had seized the pope, the Florentines, the duke of
 Ferrara, and other Italian states, he obliged them, though
 secretly*

secretly enemies, to advance money for the subsistence of his army. C H A P.
XXIX.

THE emperor received this news by Pennalosa, who passed through France, by means of a safe-conduct, granted him by the captive king. The moderation, which he displayed on this occasion, had it been sincere, would have done him great honour. Instead of rejoicing, he expressed sympathy with Francis's ill fortune; and discovered his sense of those calamities, to which the greatest monarchs are exposed^B. He refused the city of Madrid permission to make any public expressions of triumph; and said that he reserved all his exultation, till he should be able to obtain some victory over the infidels. He sent orders to his frontier garrisons to commit no hostilities upon France. He spoke of concluding immediately a peace on reasonable terms. But all this seeming equity was only hypocrisy, so much the more dangerous, as it was profound. And his sole occupation was the forming schemes, how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmost advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition, by which, in all his actions, he was wholly governed.

THE same Pennalosa, in passing through France, carried also a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then resided at Lyons. It contained only these few words; *Madam, all is lost, except our honour*. The princess was struck with the greatness of the calamity. She saw the kingdom without a sovereign; without an army, without generals, without money; surrounded on every hand by implacable and victorious enemies: And her sole resource, in her present distresses, were the hopes, which she entertained, of peace; and even of assistance from the king of England.

HAD the king entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, it is evident, that the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, were the most fortunate incidents which could have befallen him, and the only ones which could render his schemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any decisive advantage, he might have been able to possess himself of some frontier towns, or perhaps of a small territory, of which he could not have kept

CHAP. possession, without expending much more than its value.
XXIX. By some signal calamity alone, which annihilated the

1525.

Henry embraces the alliance of France.

power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of considerable provinces, or dismember that great monarchy, so affectionate to its own government and its own sovereigns. But as it is probable, that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far; he was startled at this important event, and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of France, he was determined to lend her assistance in her present calamities; and as the glory of generosity, in raising a fallen enemy, concurred with his political interests, he hesitated the less in embracing these new measures.

SOME disgusts also had previously taken place between Charles and Henry, and still more between Charles and Wolfey; and that powerful minister waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the disappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occasion to revive the king's jealousy and suspicions of his ally. The emperor supported so ill the appearance of moderation, which he at first assumed, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself *your affectionate son and cousin*; he dictated his letters to his secretary, and simply subscribed himself *Charles C.* Wolfey also perceived a diminution in the caresses and professions, with which the emperor's letters to him were usually loaded; and this last imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of success, was probably more dangerous to Charles's interests than the other.

HENRY, though immediately determined to embrace new measures, was careful to save appearances in the change; and he caused rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis. He publicly dismissed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithstanding the war, to reside at London ^D: But upon the regent of France's submissive

^C Guicciardini, lib. 16.
p. 221. Baker, p. 273.

^D Du Bellay, liv. iii. Stowe,

1525.

submissive application to him, he again opened a correspondence with her; and besides assuring her of his friendship and protection, he exacted a promise, that she never would consent to the dismembering any province of the monarchy for her son's ransom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterprise; and in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he dispatched Tonsal, bishop of London, to Madrid, with proposals for a powerful invasion of France. He required, that Charles should immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in possession of that province; and he demanded the payment of large sums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his last visit at London. He knew, that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of these demands; and that he had as little inclination to make him master of such considerable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

TONSAL likewise, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his master, that Charles, on his part, wanted not complaints against England; and in particular was displeased with Henry, because last year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his stipulations; that, instead of expressing his intentions to espouse Mary, when she should be marriageable, he had hearkened to proposals, for marrying his niece Isabella, princess of Portugal; and that he had entered into a separate treaty with Francis, and seemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the success, with which fortune had crowned his arms.

THE king, influenced by all these motives, concluded *30th Aug.* at Moore his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions^B: The regent also, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom to be Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thousand crowns, to be discharged in half yearly payments of fifty thousand crowns: After which, Henry was to receive, during his own life, a yearly pension of a hundred thousand crowns. Notwithstanding his generosity, he could not forbear taking advantage of the calamitous situation of France, in order to exact this lucrative

^B Du Tillet, Recueil des Traites de Leonard, tom. 2. Herbert.

CHAP. XXIX. tive condition from her. A large present of a hundred thousand crowns was also made to Wolley, for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

1525.

*Discon-
sents of the
Englisch.*

MEANWHILE, as Henry foresaw, that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, he was also determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects; and as the parliament had discovered some reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed the advice of Wolley, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England, for levying four shillings in the pound from the clergy, three shillings and four pence from the laity; and so uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the slender pretence of a loan. But he soon found, that he had presumed too far on the passive submission of his subjects. The people, displeased with an exaction beyond what was usually levied in those days, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, opposition to the commissioners; and their refractory disposition even threatened a general insurrection. Henry had the prudence to stop short, in that dangerous path, into which he had entered. He sent letters to all the counties; declaring, that he meant no force by this last imposition, and that he would take nothing of his subjects but by way of *benevolence*. He flattered himself, that this condescension in employing that disguise would satisfy the people, and that no one would dare render himself obnoxious to royal authority, by refusing any payment required of him in this manner. But the spirit of opposition was once roused, and could not so easily be quieted at pleasure. A lawyer in the city objecting the statute of Richard the third, by which benevolences were for ever abolished, it was replied by the court, that Richard being an usurper, and his parliaments factious assemblies, his statutes could not bind a lawful and *absolute* monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and need not to court the favour of a licentious populace^F. The judges even went so far as to affirm

^F Herbert. Hall.

1525.

affirm positively, that the king might exact by commission any sum which he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with such formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolfey sent for the mayor of London, and desired to know what he was willing to give for the supply of his majesty's necessities. The mayor seemed desirous, before he should declare himself, to consult the common council; but the cardinal required, that he and all the alderman should separately confer with himself about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed opposition. Matters, however, went not so smoothly in the country. An insurrection was begun in some places; but as the people were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals, engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent, imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he very prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were brought before the star-chamber; where, after a severe charge laid against them by the king's council, the cardinal said, "That, notwithstanding their grievous offences, the king, in consideration of their necessities, had granted them his gracious pardon, upon condition, that they would give in sureties for their future good behaviour." But they replying, that they had no sureties, the cardinal first, and after him the duke of Norfolk, said, that they would stand bound for them. Upon which they were dismissed^c.

THESE arbitrary impositions, being generally imputed to the cardinal's counsels, increased the general odium, under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon, being ascribed to the king, was considered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the measure.

But

^c Herbert. Hall. Stowe, 525. Holingshed, p. 891.

CHAP. But Wolsey, supported both by royal and papal authority,
 XXIX. proceeded, without scruple, to violate all ecclesiastical
 1525. privileges, which, during that age, were much more sacred than civil; and having once prevailed in that unusual attempt of suppressing some monasteries, he kept all the rest in awe, and exercised over them the most arbitrary jurisdiction. By his commission, as legate, he was empowered to visit them, and reform them, and chastise their irregularities; and he employed his usual agent, Allen, in the exercise of this authority. The religious houses were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by giving large sums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppression was carried so far, that it reached at last the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints against his favourite. He reprov'd Wolsey in severe terms, which rendered him, if not more innocent, at least more cautious for the future. That minister had built a splendid palace at Hampton-court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York-place in Westminster, for his own use; but fearing the increase of envy on account of this magnificence, and desirous to appease the king, he made him a present of that building, and told him, that, from the first, he had erected it for his service.

THE absolute authority, possessed by the king, rendered his domestic government, both over his people and his ministers, easy and expeditious: The conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to such a situation, that it was no longer safe for England to be entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of very short date; and it was soon obvious to all the world, that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extensive. The terms, proposed by him to his prisoner, were such as must have for ever annihilated the power of France, and destroyed the balance of Europe. He required, that that monarch should restore to him the dutchy of Burgundy, usurped, as he pretended, by Lewis the eleventh upon his ancestors; that he should yield Provence and Dauphiny to the duke of Bourbon, to be possessed by him in full sovereignty, without fief or homage to the crown of France; that he should satisfy the king of England with regard to the provinces, which that prince

prince claimed as his inheritance; and that he should renounce all title to Naples, Milan, Genoa, or any territory in Italy.^H C H A P. XXIX.

1525.

THESE demands were proposed to Francis, soon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzighitone; and as he had hitherto trusted somewhat to the emperor's generosity, the disappointment excited in his breast the most lively indignation. He said, that he would rather live and die a prisoner than agree to dismember his kingdom; and that, even were he so base as to submit to such terms, his subjects would never permit him to carry them into execution. The offers, which he made for obtaining his liberty, were, that he would renounce all claims in Italy, that he would assist the emperor in recovering the territories usurped upon the empire by the Venetians, that he would relinquish the homage due by the emperor for Artois and Flanders, that he would marry Eleonora, the emperor's sister, (for he was now a widower) and acknowledge the dutchy of Burgundy to be possessed as her dowry, and to be inherited by her children.^I

FRANCIS was encouraged to persist in these offers, by the favourable accounts, which he heard of Henry's dispositions towards him, and of the alarms, which had seized all the chief powers in Italy, upon his defeat and captivity. He was uneasy, however, to be so far distant from the emperor with whom he must treat; and he desired to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a personal interview would operate much in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his ministers, might be found possessed of the same frankness of disposition, by which he himself was distinguished. He was soon convinced of his mistake. The emperor, under pretence of an assembly of the states at Toledo, kept, during some time, at a distance from him; and even after they broke up, delayed his visit to the captive king; feigning a delicacy in that particular, as if his company, in the present situation of affairs, before any terms were agreed on, would be regarded as an insult upon the royal prisoner. Francis, partly from want of exercise, partly from reflections on his present melancholy situation, fell into a languishing illness; which begot apprehensions in Charles, lest

^H Guicciardini, lib. 16.

^I De Vera hist. de Charles V.

CHAP. left the death of his captive should bereave him of all those advantages, which he proposed to extort from him.

XXIX.

1525.

He then paid him a visit in the Castle of Madrid; and as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the sick monarch called to him, "You come, Sir, to visit your prisoner." "No," replied the emperor, "I come to visit my brother, and my friend, who shall soon obtain his liberty." He soothed his affliction with many speeches of a like nature, which had so good an effect, that the king daily recovered^K; and thenceforth employed himself in concerting with the ministers of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

WHILE this negotiation advanced slowly, fortune threw into the emperor's hands a new opportunity of enlarging his dominions in Italy. Francis Sforza, impatient that his investiture of Milan should so long be delayed, and that even after it was granted, it should be encumbered with many exorbitant conditions, had endeavoured to seduce Pescara, the imperial general, from his fidelity, and to engage him in a conspiracy against his master. Pescara feigned to enter into the design; but having revealed the whole contrivance, he received orders to take possession of the Milanese; and Charles made no secret of his intention to try Sforza and confiscate his fief, on account of the treason, which he had committed against his liege-lord and sovereign^L. This incident retained the Italian powers in closer union with France; and the emperor, by grasping too much, found himself in danger of losing all his advantages. His apprehensions were increased, when he heard, that Francis had sent a resignation of his crown to the regent, and had desired that the dauphin might be crowned king; orders, which though they were not obeyed, shewed his determined resolution never to submit to the unreasonable terms required of him. The chief difficulty of the treaty was now reduced to the cession of Burgundy, demanded by Charles; and even that territory, Francis had agreed to yield, but he still insisted on first recovering his liberty. All mutual confidence was lost between the two princes; and each feared, lest advantage should be taken of his simplicity, should he first execute his part of the treaty.

1526.

14th Jan.

At last the emperor was willing to relax of his rigour in this particular; and the treaty of Madrid was signed, by

^K Herbert, De Vera, Sandoval.

^L Guicciardini, lib. 16.

by which, it was hoped, an end would be finally put to C H A
the differences between these great monarchs. The prin- XXIX.
cipal condition was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and
the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the em-
peror for the cession of Burgundy: If any difficulty
should afterwards occur in the execution of this last arti-
cle, from the opposition of the states, either of France or
of that province, Francis stipulated, that in six weeks
time, he would return to his prison, and remain there
till the full performance of the treaty. There were ma-
ny other articles in this famous convention, all of them
rigorous and severe to the last degree against the captive
monarch; and Charles discovered evidently his intention
of reducing Italy, as well as France, to subjection and
dependance.

MANY of Charles's ministers, foresaw that Francis,
however solemn the oaths, promises, and protestations
extracted of him, never would execute a treaty, which
was so disadvantageous, or rather ruinous and destructive,
to himself, his posterity, and his country. By putting
Burgundy into the emperor's hands, he gave his power-
ful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: By
sacrificing his allies in Italy, he deprived himself of all
foreign assistance; and arming his oppressor with the
whole force and wealth of that opulent country, render-
ed him absolutely irresistible. To these great views of
interest, were added the motives, no less cogent, of pas-
sion and resentment; while Francis, a prince, who piqued
himself on generosity, reflected on the rigour with which
he had been treated during his captivity, and the cruel
terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery
of his freedom. It was also foreseen, that the emulation
and rivalry, which had so long subsisted between these
two monarchs, would make him feel the strongest reluc-
tance on yielding the superiority to an antagonist, who,
by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to
think, had shewn himself so little worthy of that advan-
tage, which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his
hands. His ministers, his friends, his subjects, his allies,
would be sure, with one voice, to inculcate on him, that
the first object of a prince, was the preservation of his
people; and that the laws of honour, which with a pri-
vate man ought to be absolutely supreme, and superior to
all interests, were with a sovereign subordinate to the
great

CHAP. great duty of ensuring the safety of his country. Nor
 XXIX. could it be imagined, that Francis would be so romantic
 1526. in his principles, as not to hearken to a casuistry, which
 was so plausible in itself, and which so much flattered all
 the passions, by which, either as a prince or a man, he
 was strongly actuated.

SUCH was the reasoning of several of Charles's ministers, particularly of Gattinara, his chancellor^m, who counselled him to treat Francis with more generosity, and to give him his liberty on such terms, as would engage him, not by the feeble band of treaties, but by the more forcible tie of honour, to a strict and faithful performance. But the emperor's avidity prevented him from following this wiser and more honourable council; at the same time that the prospect of a general combination of Europe hindered him from detaining Francis in captivity, and taking advantage of the confusions, which his absence must necessarily occasion in his kingdom. Still suspicious, however, of the sincerity of his prisoner, he took an opportunity before they parted, of asking him privately, and as a friend, whether he seriously intended to execute the treaty of Madrid; protesting, that, in all cases, he himself was firmly determined to restore him to his liberty, and that the prospect of obtaining this advantage needed no longer engage him to dissemble. Francis was too well acquainted with Charles's character to trust to the sincerity of this protestation; and therefore renewed his assurances of fidelity, and a strict observance of his word. The emperor replied, that Francis was now his best friend and ally; but if he should afterwards break his engagements, which he could not suspect, he should think himself entitled to reproach him with a conduct so base and unworthy: And on these terms the two monarchs parted.

181b
 March.
 Francis
 recovers
 his liberty.

FRANCIS, on entering into his own dominions, delivered his two eldest sons as hostages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkish horse, and immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand over his head, and cried aloud several times, *I am yet a King*. He soon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry; acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and protesting, that he

should

^m Guicciardini, lib. 16.

should be entirely governed by his councils in all transactions with the emperor. When the Spanish envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he waved the proposal; under colour, that it was necessary to assemble previously the states both of France and of Burgundy, and obtain their consent. The states of Burgundy soon met; and declaring against the clause, which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expressed their resolution of opposing, even by force of arms, the execution of so ruinous and unjust an article. The imperial minister then required, that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, should now return to his prison; but the French monarch, instead of complying, made public the treaty, which, a little before, he had secretly concluded at Cognac, against the ambitious schemes and usurpations of the emperor^N. C H A P:
XXIX.
1526.
22d May.

THE pope, the Venetians, and other Italian states, who were deeply interested in these events, had been held in the most anxious suspense with regard to the resolutions, which Francis should take, after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, who suspected, that this prince would never execute a treaty so hurtful to his interests, and even destructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a dispensation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in suspense; but entered immediately into the confederacy proposed to him. It was stipulated, by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines, the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reasonable sum of money; and to restore Milan to Sforza, without farther conditions or incumbrances. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but also as protector of the *holy league*, so it was called: And if Naples should be conquered from the emperor, in prosecution of this confederacy, it was agreed, that Henry should enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of 30,000 ducats: And that cardinal Wolsey, in consideration of the services, which he had rendered to Christendom, should also, in such an event, be put in possession of a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats.

FRANCIS

^N Guicciardini, lib. 17.

H A P. FRANCIS was extremely desirous, that the appearance of this great confederacy should engage the emperor to relax somewhat of the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture; and having levied a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the less so, because Charles, destitute of money, had not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies, which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome; and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city.

6th May. He was himself killed, as he was planting a ladder to scale the walls; but his soldiers, rather enraged than discouraged by his death, mounted to the assault with the utmost valour, and entering the city, sword in hand, exercised all those bruteries; which may be expected from ferocity excited by resistance, and from insolence which takes place when that resistance is no more. This renowned city, exposed by her renown alone to so many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians, by whom she was often subdued, such indignities as she was now constrained to suffer. The unrestrained massacre and pillage, which continued for several days, were the least ills, to which the unhappy Romans were exposed^o. Whatever was respectable in modesty or sacred in religion seemed but the more to provoke the insults of the soldiery. Virgins suffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon those very altars, to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced every moment with the most cruel death, in order to engage them to reveal their secret treasures, or purchase liberty by exorbitant ransoms. Clement himself, who had trusted for protection to the sacredness of his character, and neglected to make

^o Guicciardini, lib. 18. Bellay. Stowe, p. 527.

make his escape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spanish soldiers, did but draw on him the insolent mockery of the German, who, being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleased to gratify their animosity by the abasement of the sovereign pontiff.

C H A P.
XXIX.
1527.

WHEN intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms: He put himself and all his court into mourning: He stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip: And knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able, when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be put up in all the churches for the Pope's liberty; an event, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

THE concern, expressed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally, was much more sincere. These two monarchs, a few days before the sack of Rome, had concluded a treaty^p at Westminster, in which, besides renewing former alliances, they agreed to send ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ransom of the French princes, and to repay the money, borrowed of Henry; and in case of refusal, the ambassadors, attended with heralds, were ordered to denounce war against him. This war, it was agreed to prosecute in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred men at arms, two thirds to be supplied by Francis, the rest by Henry. And in order to strengthen the alliance between the princes, it was stipulated, that either Francis or his son, the duke of Orleans, as should afterwards be agreed on, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's daughter. No sooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterprize, than they changed, by a new treaty, the scene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and hearing of the Pope's captivity, they were farther stimulated to undertake the war with vigour for restoring him to liberty. Wolfey himself crossed the sea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert measures for that purpose;

29th May.

11th July.

^p 30th April.

CHAP. purpose; and he displayed all that grandeur and magnificence, with which he was so much intoxicated. He was attended with a train of a thousand horse. The cardinal of Lorraine, and the chancellor of Alençon, met him at Boulogne: Francis himself, besides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place, where he came, liberty to all prisoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced some miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here stipulated, that the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and as the emperor seemed to be taking some steps towards assembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their dominions, each by his own authority. Wolsey made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but finding his efforts fruitless, he was obliged, tho' with great reluctance, to desist from these ambitious enterprises.

18th Sept. THE more to cement the union between these princes, a new treaty was, some time after, concluded at London; in which Henry agreed to renounce for ever all claims to the crown of France; claims, which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French monarchy. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay for ever fifty thousand crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that a greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed, that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it. The marshal Montmorency, accompanied with many persons of distinction, and attended by a pompous equipage, was sent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade, which suited the solemnity of the occasion. The terror of the emperor's greatness had entirely extinguished the antient animosity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more distant power, the chief object of jealousy to the English.

THIS

Q Burnet book 3. coll. 12, 13.

*League
with
France.*

1527.

THIS appearance of a cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embassy, which they sent to the emperor, was not able to bend that ambitious monarch to submit entirely to the conditions insisted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ransom of the French princes; but he required, previously to their recovery of liberty, that Francis should evacuate Genoa, and all the fortresses held by him in Italy: And he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiscating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treason. The English and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war against him, and set him at defiance. Charles answered the English herald with moderation; but to the French, he reproached his master with breach of faith, reminded him of the private conversation which had passed between them at Madrid before their separation, and offered to prove by single combat, that that monarch had acted dishonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding security of the field, he offered to maintain his cause by single combat. Many messages passed to and fro' between them; but though both the princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards, during that age, disputed zealously which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince the more candid, generous, and sincere, should, by unhappy incidents, have been reduced to that cruel situation, that nothing but the breach of his word could preserve his people, and that he must ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with his infidelity by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and virtue.

BUT though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate consequences with regard to these monarchs themselves, it produced a considerable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous jurisprudence, which was still preserved on very solemn occasions, and which was even countenanced by the civil magistrate, began thenceforth to prevail in

CHAP. the most trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or
XXIX. injury, thought themselves entitled, or even required in
1527. honour, to take revenge on their enemies, by openly
vindicating their right in single combat. These absurd,
though generous maxims, shed much of the best blood
in Christendom during more than two centuries; and not-
withstanding the severity of law, such is the prevailing
force of custom, they are far from being as yet entirely
exploded.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXX.

Scruples concerning the king's marriage. — The king enters into these scruples. — Anne Boleyn. — Henry applies to the pope for a divorce. — The pope favourable. — The emperor threatens him. — The pope's ambiguous conduct. — The cause evoked to Rome. — Wolsey's fall. — Commencement of the reformation in England. — Foreign affairs. — Wolsey's death. — A parliament. — Progress of the reformation. — A parliament. — King's final breach with Rome. — A parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the submissive deference C H A P. XXX.
 paid to the papal authority before the reformation the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not passed, without much scruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had solemnized the espousals, when his son was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity of annulling them ^A. He ordered the young prince, so soon as he came of age, to enter a protestation against the marriage ^B; and on his death-bed he charged him, as his last injunction, not to finish an alliance so unusual, and exposed to such insuperable objections. After the king's accession, some members of the Privy Council, particularly Warham, the primate, openly declared against the resolution of completing the marriage; and though Henry's youth and dissipation kept him, during some time, from entertaining any scruples with regard to the measure which he had embraced, there happened incidents sufficient to rouse his attention, and to inform him of the sentiments generally entertained on that subject. The states of Castile had opposed the emperor Charles's espousals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had insisted

1527.
*Scruples
 concerning
 the king's
 marriage.*

F 2

on

^A Morison's Apomaxis, p. 13.
 In's Queen Mary, p. 2.

^B Morison, p. 13. Hey-

CHAP. on the illegitimate birth of the young princeſs ^C. And
XXX. when the negotiations were afterwards opened with
 1527. France, and mention was made of betrothing her to
 Francis or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe,
 the French ambaffador, revived the ſame objection ^D.
 But though theſe events naturally raiſed ſome doubts in
 Henry's mind, there concurred other cauſes, which tend-
 ed much to encrease his remorse, and render his conſci-
 ence more ſcrupulous.

The king enters into theſe ſcruples. THE queen was older than the king by no leſs than
 fix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with
 particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed not-
 withſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to
 render her perſon unacceptable to him. Though ſhe had
 borne him ſeveral children, they all died in early infan-
 cy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck
 with this miſfortune, becauſe the curſe of being child-
 leſs is the very threatening, contained in the Moſaical
 law againſt thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The
 king was actuated by a ſtrong deſire of having male iſ-
 ſue: With a view to that end, it is believed, more than
 from deſire towards other gratification, he had, a few
 years before this period, made addreſſes to a young lady,
 Catherine, daughter of Sir John Blount; and when ſhe
 bore him a ſon, he expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction, and
 immediately created him duke of Richmond. The ſuc-
 ceſſion of the crown too was a conſideration, that occur-
 red to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's
 marriage was queſtioned; and it was apprehended, that,
 if the doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the
 weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir,
 would certainly advance his own pretenſions, and might
 throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet re-
 cent, of civil wars and convulſions, ariſing from a diſ-
 puted title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men,
 and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event,
 which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the
 king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions, and
 by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of
 his inauſpicious, and, as it was eſteemed, unlawful mar-
 riage with Catherine.

HENRY

* Lord Herbert, Fiddes's life of Wolfey.
 xiv. 192, 203. Heylin, p. 3.

^D Rymer, vol.

HENRY afterwards affirmed, that his scruples of conscience arose entirely from private reflection; and that on consulting the bishop of Lincoln, he found that prelate possessed with the same doubts and difficulties. The king himself, being so great a casuist and divine, then proceeded to examine the question more carefully by his own learning and study; and having had recourse to Thomas of Aquine, he observed that this celebrated doctor, whose authority was great in the church and absolute with him, had treated of that very case, and had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages ^E. The prohibitions, said Thomas, contained in Leviticus, and among the rest, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them. The archbishop of Canterbury was next applied to; and he was required to consult his brethren: All the prelates of England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, declared unanimously, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful ^F. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples ^G; partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew, partly desirous of connecting the king more closely with Francis, by marrying him to the dutchess of Alençon, sister to that monarch; and perhaps too somewhat disgusted with the queen herself, who had reproved him for certain freedoms, unbecoming his character and station ^H. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

ANNE Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been created maid of honour to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter to Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employ-
and

*Anne
Boleyn.*

^E Burnet, Fiddes. ^F Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Stowe, p. 548. ^G Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 46, 166, 168. Saunders-Heylin, p. 4. ^H Burnet, vol. i. p. 38. Strype, vol. i. p. 88.

CHAP. XXX. ed by the king in several embassies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility of the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had espoused one of the daughters and co-heirs of the lord Hastings¹. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when she espoused Lewis the twelfth of France; and upon the demise of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, Anne, whose accomplishments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the service of Claude, queen of France, spouse to Francis; and after her death, she passed into the family of the dutchess of Alençon, a princess of singular merit. The exact time, when she returned to England, is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine; if the account is to be credited, which he himself afterwards gave of that transaction. Henry's scruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but as he still supported an intercourse of civility and friendship with her, he had occasion, in the visits which he paid her, to observe the beauty, the youth, the charms of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the design of raising her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this resolution, when he found that her virtue and modesty prevented all hopes of gratifying his passion after any other manner. And as every motive of inclination and policy, seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his prospect of success was inviting, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose.

Henry applies to the pontiff, it was resolved not to found the application on any general doubts of the papal power to permit marriage divorce. in the nearer degrees of consanguinity; but only to insist on

¹ Camden's preface to the life of Elizabeth. Burnet, vol. i. p. 44.

on particular grounds of nullity in the bull, which Julius CHAP. XXX. had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome, that, if the pope be surprized into any concession, or grant any indulgence upon false suggestions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had usually been employed, wherever one pope had recalled any deed, executed by any of his predecessors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded plentiful matter of this kind; and any tribunal, favourable to Henry, needed not want a specious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was said in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his solicitation; though it was known, that, at that time, he was below twelve years of age: It was also affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requisite, in order to preserve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain, that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. These false premises in Julius's bull, seemed to afford Clement a sufficient reason or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a dispensation for a second marriage^k.

BUT though the pretext for this indulgence had been *The pope* less plausible, the pope was in such a situation, that he *favourable* had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. He was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league, which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the exorbitant ambition of Charles. When the English secretary, therefore, made private applications to him, he received a very favourable answer; and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be expedited to his master^l. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty, and he retired to Orvietto, where the secretary, with Sir Gregory Cassali, the king's resident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They found him still full of high professions of friendship, gratitude,

^k Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 25. from the Cott. Lib. Vitell. B. 9. ^l Burnet, vol. . p. 47.

CHAP.
XXX.

1527.

gratitude, and attachment to the king; but not so prompt in granting his request as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promise of the pope, to take no steps in that affair before he communicated them to the imperial ministers; and Clement, confined by this promise, and still more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, seemed willing to postpone those concessions desired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the English ministers, he at last put into their hands a *commission* to Wolley, as legate, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's dispensation^M: He also granted them a provisional *dispensation* for the king's marriage with any other person; and promised to expedite a *decretal bull*, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he represented to them the dangerous consequences, which must ensue to him, if these concessions should come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publish those papers, or make any farther use of them, till his affairs were in such a situation as to secure his liberty and independence. And his secret advice was, whenever they should find the proper time of opening the scene, that they should prevent all opposition, by proceeding immediately to a conclusion by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's instantly espousing some other person. Nor would it be so difficult, he said, for himself to confirm these proceedings, after they were passed, as previously to render them valid, by his consent and authority^N.

1528. WHEN Henry received the commission and dispensation from his ambassadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his ministers, and asked their opinion in so delicate a situation. The English counsellors considered the danger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuse to confirm a deed, which he might justly call precipitate and irregular, and should he disavow the advice which he gave in so clandestine a manner, the king would find his second marriage totally invalidated; any children, which it

^M Rymer, vol. xiv. 237.
Vitell. B. 10.

^N Collier, from Cott. Lib.

it might bring him, declared illegitimate; and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever^o. And Henry's apprehensions of the possibility, or even probability, of such an event, were much confirmed, when he reflected on the character and situation of the sovereign pontiff.

C H A P. XXX.
1528.

CLEMENT the seventh was a prince of excellent judgment, whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely subject, allowed him to make full use of those talents, and that penetration, with which he was endowed^p. The captivity, and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league against Charles, had so affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himself with vigour in any public measures; especially if the interest or inclinations of that potentate stood in opposition to him. The imperial forces were, at present, powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was still defenceless, and exposed to the same calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And besides these dangers, Clement found or fancied himself exposed to perils, which threatened, still more immediately, his person and his dignity.

CHARLES, apprized of the timid disposition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of summoning a general council; which he represented as necessary to reform the church, and correct those enormous abuses, which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ecclesiastical administration. The power of Clement himself, he said, the sovereign pontiff, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne, which he filled, might justly be called in question. The pope had always passed for the natural son of Julian of Medicis, who was of the sovereign family of Florence; and tho' Leo the tenth, his cousin, had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promise of marriage between his father and mother, few persons believed that declaration to be founded on any just reason or authority. The canon law, indeed, had been entirely silent with regard to the promotion of bastards to the papal throne; but, what was still dangerous, the people had entertained a violent

^o Burnet, vol. i. p. 51. ^p Father Paul, lib. 1. Guicciardini.
^Q Father Paul, lib. 1.

CHAP. a violent prepossession, that that stain in the birth of any
 XXX. person was sufficient to incapacitate him for so holy an
 office. And in another point, the canon law was express
 1528. and positive, that no man, guilty of simony, could attain
 that dignity. A severe bull of Julius the second had added
 new sanctions to this law, by declaring, that a simoni-
 acal election should not be rendered valid, even by a
 posterior consent of the cardinals. But unfortunately
 Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, contain-
 ing promises of advancing that cardinal, in case he himself
 should attain the papal dignity by his concurrence: And
 this billet, Colonna, who was in entire dependance on
 the emperor, threatened every moment to expose to pub-
 lic view ^R.

WHILE Charles terrified the pope with these menaces,
 he also allured him by hopes, which were no less preva-
 lent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's
 forces sacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity,
 the Florentines, passionate for their antient liberty, had
 taken advantage of his distresses, and revolting against the
 family of Medicis, had entirely abolished their authority
 in Florence, and re-established the former democracy.
 The better to protect themselves in their freedom, they
 had entered into the alliance with France, England, and
 Venice, against the emperor; and Clement found, that,
 by this interest, the hands of his confederates were tied
 from assisting him in the restoration of his family; the
 event, which, of all others, he most passionately desired.
 The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effectuate this
 purpose; and therefore, whatever professions he made of
 fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the least glimpse
 of hope, ready to embrace every proposal of a cordial re-
 conciliation with that monarch ^S.

THESE views and interests of the pope were well
 known in England; and as the opposition of the emperor
 was foreseen to Henry's divorce, both on account of the
 honour and interests of Catherine his aunt, and the obvi-
 ous motive of distressing an enemy, it was esteemed dan-
 gerous to take any measure of consequence, in expecta-
 tion of the subsequent concurrence of a man of Clement's
 character, whose behaviour contained always so much
 duplicity, and who was at present so little at his own dis-
 posal.

^R Father Paul, lib. i.

^S Father Paul.

posaf. The safest measure seemed to consist in previously engaging him so far, that he could not afterwards recede, and in making use of his present ambiguity and uncertainty, to extort the most important concessions from him. For this purpose, Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were dispatched to Rome, and were ordered to solicit a commission from the pope, of such a nature as would oblige him to confirm the sentence of the commissioners, whatever it was, and disable him, on any account, to recal the commission, or evoke the cause to Rome ^{1528.}

CHAP. XXX.
10th Feb.

But the same reasons, which made the king so desirous of obtaining this concession, confirmed the pope in the resolution of refusing it: He was still determined to keep the door open to an agreement with the emperor, and he made no scruple of sacrificing all other considerations to a point, which he deemed, of all others, the most important to his own security, and to that of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to insert the clause desired of him. And though he put into Gardiner's hands a letter, promising not to recall the present commission; this promise was found, on examination, to be couched in such ambiguous terms, as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it ^{the pope's ambiguous conduct.}

CAMPEGGIO lay under some obligations to the king; but his dependance on the pope was so much greater, that he conformed himself entirely to the views of his holiness; and though he received his commission in April, he protracted his departure by so many artificial delays, that it was October before he arrived in England. The first step which he took, was to exhort the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce; and finding that this counsel gave great offence, he said, that his intention was also to exhort the queen to enter into a convent, and that he thought it his duty, previously to attempt an amicable compofure of all differences ^{u.} The more to pacify

^T Lord Herbert. Burnet, vol. i. p. 29. in the collect. Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 28. Strype, vol. i. p. 93. with App. No. 23, 24, &c. ^u Lord Herbert, p. 221. Burnet, p. 59. ^w Herbert, p. 225.

CHAP. XXX. 1528. fy the king, he shewed to him, as also to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail with him to make any other of the king's council privy to the secret ^x. In order to atone, in some degree, for this obstinacy, he expressed to the king and the cardinal, the pope's great desire of satisfying them in every reasonable demand; and in particular, he shewed that their request for suppressing some more monasteries, and converting them into cathedrals and bishops sees, had obtained the consent of his holiness ^y.

THESE ambiguous circumstances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate, kept the court of England in suspense, and determined the king to wait with patience the issue of such uncertain councils. Fortune meanwhile seemed to promise him a more sure and expeditious way of extricating himself from his present difficulties. Clement was seized with a dangerous illness; and the intrigues for electing his successor, began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolsey, in particular, supported by the interest of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter ^z; and it appears, that, if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that summit of his ambition. But the pope recovered his health, though after several relapses; and he returned to the same train of false and deceitful politics, by which he had hitherto amused the English court. He still flattered Henry with professions of the most cordial attachment, and promised him a sudden and favourable issue of his process: He still continued his secret negotiations with Charles, and persevered in the resolution of sacrificing all his promises, and all the interests of the Romish religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the decision by the most artificial delays; and gave Clement full leisure to adjust all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

THE emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earnestness in this affair, was determined, that he should obtain success by no other means but by an application to him, and by deserting his alliance with Francis, which had

^x Burnet, p. 58. ^y Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 270. Strype, vol. i. p. 110, 111. Append. N^o. 28. ^z Burnet, vol. i. p. 63.

had hitherto supported, against the superior force of Spain, the tottering state of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and promising her his utmost protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and persecutions of her enemies. The queen herself was naturally of a firm and resolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to persevere in protesting against the injustice, to which she thought herself exposed. The imputation of incest, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, struck her with the highest indignation: The illegitimacy of her daughter, which seemed a necessary consequence, gave her the most just concern: The reluctance of yielding to a rival, who, she believed, had supplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all these considerations, she never ceased soliciting her nephew's assistance, and earnestly entreating an evocation of the cause to Rome, where alone, she thought, she could expect justice. And the emperor, in all his negotiations with the pope, made the recall of the commission, which Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England, a fundamental article ^A.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at ^{31st May.} London, and cited the king and queen to appear before ^{Trial of} it. They both presented themselves; and the king answered to his name, when called: But the queen, instead ^{the king's marriage.} of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She told him, that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without assistance; exposed to all the injustice, which her enemies were pleased to impose upon her: That she had quitted her native country without any other resource, than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected, that, instead of suffering thence any violence or iniquity, she was assured in them of a safeguard against every misfortune: That she had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himself, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after so long

^A Herbert, p. 225. Burnet, vol. i. p. 69.

CHAP. long a time, thrown from him with so much indignity:
 XXX. That she was conscious — he himself was assured — that
 her virgin honour was yet unstained, when he received
 1529. her into his bed; and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no further than the ceremony of marriage: That their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were esteemed the wisest princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the best advice, when they formed the agreement for that marriage, which was now represented as so criminal and unnatural: And that she acquiesced in their judgment, and would not submit her cause to be tried by a court, whose dependance on her enemies was too visible, ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision^B. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

AFTER her departure, the king did her the justice to acknowledge, that she had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the strictest rules of probity and honour. He only insisted on his own scruples, with regard to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progress, and the foundation of those doubts, by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolsey of having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he begged a sentence of the court, agreeable to the justice of his cause.

THE legates, after citing the queen anew to appear before them, declared her *contumacious*, notwithstanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cause. The first point which came before them, was the proof of prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it must be confessed, that no stronger argument could reasonably be expected of such a fact after so long an interval. The age of the prince, who had passed his fifteenth year, the good state of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his spouse, many of his expressions to that very purpose; all these circumstances form a violent presumption, in favour of the king's assertion^C. Henry himself,
 after

^B Burnet, vol. i. p. 73. Hall. Stowe, p. 543. ^C Herbert.

after his brother's death, was not allowed for some time C H A P. to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: The Spanish ambassador, in order the better to ensure possession of her jointure, had sent over to Spain proofs of the consummation of her marriage ^D: Julius's bull itself was founded on the supposition, that Arthur had *perhaps* had knowledge of the princess: In the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the consummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur, is acknowledged on both sides ^E. These particulars were all laid before the court, accompanied with many reasonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and his power of granting a dispensation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard these doctrines with great impatience; and notwithstanding his resolution to protract the cause, he was often tempted to interrupt and silence the king's council, when they insisted on such disagreeable topics. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolsey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as president of the court; because it was thought, that a trial, managed by an Italian cardinal, would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality, than if the king's own minister and favourite had presided in it. The business now seemed to be drawing near to a period, and the king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprize, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences ^F, prorogued the court, till the first of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of success, which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished ^G.

*The cause
evoked to
Rome.*

DURING the time, that the trial was carried on before the legates at London, the emperor had by his ministers earnestly solicited Clement to evoke the cause to Rome; and had employed every topic of hope or terror, which could operate either on the passion or timidity of the pontiff. The English ambassadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no less earnest in their applications, that the legate should be allowed to finish

^D Burnet, vol. ii. p. 35.

^F Burnet, vol. i. p. 76, 77.

^E Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 81.

^G Herbert, p. 254.

CHAP. finish the trial; but, though they employed the same engines of promises and menaces, the objects, which they could set before the pope, were not so instant nor immediate as those which were held up to him by the emperor^k. The dread of losing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by so considerable an accession, made small impression on Clement's mind, in comparison of the anxiety for his own personal safety, and the fond desire of restoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. So soon, therefore, as he had adjusted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of justice, which required him, he said, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and suspending the commission of the legates, he evoked the cause to Rome. Campeggio had beforehand received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull, with which he was intrusted.

WOLSEY had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his own ruin. Though he had at first desired, that the king should rather marry a French princess than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himself, with the utmost assiduity and earnestness, to bring the affair to an happy issue^l: He was not therefore to be blamed for the unprosperous event, which the pope's partiality had produced. But he had sufficient experience of the extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or distinction, to make his ministers answerable for the issue of those transactions, with which they were entrusted. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and as she was newly returned to court, whence she had been removed, from a regard to decency, during the trial before the legates, she had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry's mind, and she served much to fortify his prejudices against the cardinal^k. Even the queen and her partizans, judging of Wolsey by the part which he had openly acted, had expressed the highest animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The high opinion itself, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to hasten his downfall;

^k Burnet, vol. i. 75. ^l Collier, vol. ii. p. 45. Burnet, vol. i. p. 53. ^k Cavendish, p. 40.

downfall; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not instantly on his head. The king, who probably could not justify by any good reason his alienation from his antient favourite, seems to have remained some time in suspense, and he received him, if not with all his former kindness, at least with the appearance of trust and regard.

BUT it is found almost impossible for a high confidence *Wolsey's* and affection to receive the least diminution, without sinking into absolute indifference, or even running into the opposite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almost as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent to require the great seal from him; and on his scrupling to deliver it, without a more express warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was surrendered, and was delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man, who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity and capacity.

WOLSEY was ordered to depart from York-Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. Their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold or cloth of silver: He had a cupboard of plate of massy gold: There were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The rest of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was probably no small inducement to this violent persecution against him.

THE cardinal was ordered to retire to Asher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton-Court. The world, who had paid him such adje& court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him, on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes. He himself was much dejected with the change; and from the same turn of mind, which had made him be so vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt

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the

CHAP. the stroke of adversity with double rigour^M. The smallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy, unbecoming a man. The king had seemed willing, during some time, to intermit the blows, which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester. He even sent him a gracious message, accompanied with a ring, as a testimony of his affection. Wolsey, who was on horseback when the messenger met him, immediately alighted; and throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received in that humble posture these marks of his majesty's gracious disposition towards him^N.

BUT his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceased plying the king with accounts of his several offences; and Anne Boleyn in particular, who bore him no kindness, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk; to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinstated in his former authority. He dismissed therefore his numerous retinue; and as he was a kind and beneficent master, the separation passed not without a plentiful effusion of tears on both sides^O. The king's heart, notwithstanding some gleams of kindness, seemed now totally hardened against his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the Star Chamber, where a sentence was passed upon him. And not contented with this severity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the Parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again assembled. The house of lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment, and his removal from all authority. Little opposition was made to this charge in the upper house: No evidence of any part of it was so much as called for; and as it consists chiefly of general accusations, it was scarce susceptible of any^P. The articles were

Novemb.

^M Strype, vol. i. p. 114, 115.

App. N^o 31, &c.

^N Stowe, p. 547.

^O Cavendish. Stowe, p. 549.

^P The first article of the charge against the cardinal is his procuring the legantine power, which, however, as it was certainly done with the king's consent and permission, could be nowise criminal. Many of the other articles also regard the mere exercise of that power. Some articles impute to him as crimes, particular actions, which were natural or unavoidable to

Were sent down to the house of commons; where Thomas Cromwel, formerly a servant of the cardinal, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour, which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

WOLSEY's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was lodged against him, that, contrary to a statute of Richard the second, commonly called the statute of provisors, he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly that investing him with the legantine power, which he had exercised with very extensive authority. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and threw himself on the King's mercy. He was perhaps within reach of the law; but besides that this statute had fallen altogether into disuse, nothing could be more rigorous and severe than to impute

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to

to any man, that was prime minister with so unlimited an authority; such as receiving first all letters from the king's ministers abroad, receiving first all visits from foreign ministers, desiring that all applications should be made thro' him. He was also accused of naming himself with the king, as if he had been his fellow, *the king and I*. It is reported that sometimes he even put his own name before the king's, *ego et rex manus*. But this mode of expression is justified by the Latin idiom. It is remarkable, that his whispering in the king's ear, knowing himself to be affected with venereal distempers, is an article against him. Many of the charges are general and incapable of proof. Lord Herbert goes so far as to affirm, that no man ever fell from so high a station, who had so few real crimes objected to him. This opinion is perhaps too favourable to the cardinal. Yet the refutation of the articles by Cromwel, and their being rejected by a house of commons even in this arbitrary reign, is almost a demonstration of Wolsey's innocence. Henry was, no doubt, entirely bent on his destruction, when, on his failure by a parliamentary impeachment, he attacked him upon the statute of provisors, which afforded him so little just hold on that minister. For that this indictment was subsequent to the attack in parliament, appears by Cavendish's life of Wolsey, Stowe, p. 551, and more certainly by the very articles of impeachment themselves. Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 42. article 7. Coke's Inst. p. 4. fol. 89.

CHAP. to him as a crime, what he had openly, during a course
 XXX. of so many years, practised with the consent and appro-
 1529. bation of the king, and the acquiescence of the parliament
 and kingdom. Not to mention, what he always asserted
 Q, and what we can scarce doubt of, that he had ob-
 tained the royal licence in the most formal manner,
 which, had he not been apprehensive of the dangers at-
 tending any opposition to Henry's lawless will, he might
 have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sen-
 tence, however, was pronounced against him, " That
 " he was out of the king's protection; his lands and
 " goods forfeited, and that his person might be commit-
 " ted to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey, tho'
 it was not disagreeable to Henry, was carried no farther.
 He even granted him a pardon for all offences; restored
 him part of his plate and furniture; and still continued,
 from time to time, to drop expressions of favour and com-
 passion towards him.

*Com-
 mence-
 ment of
 the refor-
 mation in
 England.*

THE complaints against the usurpations of the eccle-
 siastics had been very antient in England, as well as in
 most other European kingdoms; and as this topic was
 now become popular every where, it had paved the way
 for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people, in
 some measure, to the frightful idea of heresy and inno-
 vation. The commons, finding the occasion favourable,
 passed several bills, restraining the impositions of the
 clergy; one for regulating of mortuaries; another against
 the exactions for the probates of wills^R; a third against
 non-residence and pluralities, and against churchmen's be-
 ing farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly danger-
 ous to the ecclesiastical order, were the severe invectives,
 thrown out, almost without opposition, in the house, a-
 gainst the dissoluteness of the priests, their ambition,
 their avarice, and their endless encroachments on the laity.
 Lord Herbert^S has even preserved the speech of a gen-
 tleman of Gray's-Inn, which is of a very singular nature,
 and contains such topics as we should little expect to meet
 with during that period. The member insists upon the
 vast variety of theological opinions, which prevailed in
 different

Q Cavendish, p. 72.

^R These exactions are quite arbitrary, and had risen to a great
 height. A member said in the house, that a thousand marks
 had been exacted from him on that account. Hall, fol. 188.
 Strype, vol. i. p. 73. ^S P. 293.

different nations and ages; the endless inextricable controversies maintained by the several sects; the impossibility, that any man, much less the people, could ever know, much less examine, the tenets and principles of each sect; the necessity of ignorance and a suspension of judgment with regard to all these objects of dispute: And upon the whole, he infers, that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one supreme Being, the author of nature; and the necessity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such sentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time; and would not be advanced, without some precaution, in a public assembly. But though the first broaching of religious controversy might encourage the sceptical turn in a few persons of a studious disposition; the zeal, with which men soon after attached themselves to their several parties, served effectually to banish for a long time all such obnoxious liberties.

THE bills for regulating the clergy met with some opposition in the house of lords. Bishop Fisher in particular imputed these measures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed design, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles, of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in very severe, and even somewhat indecent terms. He told him, that the greatest clerks were not always the wisest men. But Fisher replied, that he did not remember any fools in his time, who proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the bishop of Rochester's speech stopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Audley, their speaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the bishop was obliged to put a more favourable construction on his words^T.

HENRY was not displeased, that the court of Rome and the clergy should be sensible, that they were entirely dependent on him; and that his Parliament, if he were willing to second their inclinations, were sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment: They granted him a discharge of all those

^T Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 59. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 82.

CHAP. those debts, which he had contracted since the beginning
 XXX. of his reign: And they grounded this bill, which occasioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great
 1529. care of the nation, and of his employing regularly all the money, which he had borrowed, in the public service. Most of the king's creditors consisted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the supply of Henry's necessities; and the present courtiers were well pleased to take the opportunity of mulcting them^U. Several also approved of an expedient, which, they hoped, would ever after discredit a method of supply, so irregular and so unparliamentary.

*Foreign
 affairs.*

THE domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had declared war against the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to stipulate a neutrality with those provinces; and except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exercised no hostilities against any of the imperial dominions. A general peace was this summer established in Europe. Margaret of Austria and Louise of Savoy met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hostages. Henry was so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him an acquital of near 600,000 crowns, which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not so well satisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray: They were there almost wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor; and seemed to have no other means of security left, but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave resistance, was subdued by the imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated: They were only obliged to relinquish some acquisitions, which they had made on the coast of Naples. Even Francis Sforza obtained the investiture of Milan, and was pardoned all his past offences. The emperor in person passed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the imperial crown from
 the

^U Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and having already, by his vigour and capacity, succeeded in every enterprize, and reduced to captivity the two greatest potentates in Europe, the one spiritual; the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognostications were formed of his growing empire.

BUT though Charles seemed to be prosperous on every side, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that scarcity of money, under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himself threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his desire of remedying them was the chief cause of his granting such moderate conditions to the powers in Italy. Sultan Solymán, the greatest and most accomplished prince that ever sat on the Ottoman throne, had almost entirely subdued Hungary, had besieged Vienna, and, though repulsed, still menaced the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria with conquest and subjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conscience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcald: and because they protested against the votes passed in the imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of *protestants*. Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and on pretence of securing the purity of religion, he had laid a scheme of aggrandizing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

THE friendship of Henry was one material circumstance yet wanting to Charles, in order to ensure success to his ambitious enterprizes; and the king was sufficiently acquainted, that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties, which lay in the way of his divorce; that point, which had long been the object of his most earnest wishes. But besides that the interests of his kingdom seemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty spirit could not brook a friendship imposed on him by constraint; and as he had ever been accustomed to receive courtship, submission, and solicitation from the greatest potentates, he could ill brook that dependence, to which this unhappy affair seemed to have reduced him. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connections with the court of Rome; and tho' he had been educated in a superstitious reverence to the papal authority,
it

CHAP. it is likely, that his personal experience of the duplicity
 XXX. and selfish politics of Clement, had served much to open
 1529. his eyes in that particular. He found his royal prerogative firmly established at home: He observed, that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order: He knew, that they had cordially taken part with him in his prosecution of the divorce, and highly resented that unworthy treatment, which, after so many services and such devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn also could not fail, by her insinuations, to engage him into extremities with the pope; both as it was the readiest way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the dutchess of Alençon, a princess inclined to the reformers, had already disposed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: He dreaded the reproach of heresy: He abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: And having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defence of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

The universities consulted about the king's marriage.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that university for his learning, and still more, for the candour and disinterestedness of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or to extort the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: If they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great
 a monarch,

a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned CHAP. men in Christendom ^A. When the king was informed XXX. of the proposa^l, he was delighted with it; and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear: He sent for that divine; entered into conversation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and understanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. 1529.

HAD the question of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of sound philosophy, exempt from superstition, it seemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reason, why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral sentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preserve purity of manners; while they reflect, that, if a commerce of love were authorized between the nearest relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, so we find, that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the several ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks, permitted no converse between persons of the two sexes, except where they lived under the same roof; and even the apartments of a step-mother, and her daughters, were almost as much shut up against visits from the husband's sons, as against those from any stranger or more remote relation: Hence, in that nation, it was lawful for a man to marry, not only his niece, but his half sister by the father: A liberty unknown to the Romans, and other nations, where a more open intercourse was authorized between the sexes. Reasoning from this principle, it would appear, that the ordinary commerce of life, among great princes, is so obstructed by ceremony, and numerous attendants, that no ill consequence would result, among

^A Fox, p. 1860, 2d edit. Burnet, vol. i. p. 79. Speed, p. 769. Heylin, p. 5.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. among them, from the marriage of a brother's widow ;
 XXX. especially if the dispensation of the supreme priest is pre-
 viously required, in order to justify what may in common
 cases be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from

1529.

becoming too common and familiar. And as strong motives of public interest and tranquillity may frequently require such alliances between the sovereign families, there is the less reason for extending towards them the full rigour of that rule, which has place among individuals^B.

BUT in opposition to these reasons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had custom and practice on his side, the principle by which men are almost wholly governed in their actions and opinions. Marriages with a brother's widow were so unusual, that no other instance of it could be found in any history or record of any Christian nation ; and tho' the popes were accustomed to dispense with more essential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, such as those of uncle and niece, the imaginations

^B Even judging of this question by the Scripture, to which the appeal was every moment made, the arguments for the king's cause appear but lame and imperfect. Marriage in the degree of affinity which had place between Henry and Catherine, is, indeed, prohibited in Leviticus ; but it is natural to interpret that prohibition as a part of the Jewish ceremonial or municipal law : And though it is there said, in the conclusion, that the gentile nations, by violating these degrees of consanguinity, had incurred the divine displeasure, the extensions of this maxim to every precise case before specified, is supposing the scriptures to be composed with a minute accuracy and precision, to which, we know with certainty, the sacred penmen did not think proper to confine themselves. The descent of mankind from one common father, obliged them, in the first generation, to marry in the nearest degrees of consanguinity : Instances of a like nature occur among the patriarchs : And the marriage of a brother's widow was, in certain cases, not only permitted, but even enjoined as a positive precept by the Mosaical law. It is in vain to say, that this precept was an exception to the rule ; and an exception confined merely to the Jewish nation. The inference is still just, that such a marriage can contain no natural or moral turpitude ; otherwise God, who is the author of all purity, would never, in any case, have enjoined it.

imaginations of men were not as yet reconciled to this particular exercise of his authority. Several universities of Europe, therefore, without hesitation, as well as without interest or reward ^C, gave verdict in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Tholouse, Angiers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and even Bologna itself, tho' under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone ^D and Cambridge ^E made some difficulty; because these universities, alarmed with the progress of Lutheranism, and fearing a defection from the holy see, scrupled to give their sanction to measures, whose consequences, they feared, would prove so fatal to the antient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last procured; and the king, in order to give weight to all these authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cause to the holy father, and threatening him with the most dangerous consequences in case of a denial of justice ^F. The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to dispense ^G. But Clement, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued to summon the king to appear, either by himself or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew he could expect no fair trial there, refused to submit to such a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high insult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltshire, carried to the pope the king's reasons for not appearing by proxy; and as the first instance of disrespect from England, refused to kiss his holiness's foot, which he very graciously held out to him for that purpose ^H.

THE extremities to which Henry was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, were naturally

^C Herbert, Burnet. ^D Wood, hist. and ant. Ox. lib. i. p. 225. ^E Burnet, vol. i. p. 6. ^F Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 405. Burnet, vol. i. p. 95. ^G Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 454, 472. ^H Burnet, vol. i. p. 94.

CHAP. rally disagreeable to cardinal Wolsey; and as Henry
 XXX. foresaw his opposition, it is the most probable reason
 which can be assigned for his continuing to prosecute
 1530. with so much rigour his antient favourite. After Wolsey
 had remained some time at Asher, he was allowed to
 remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as
 a present from Henry, in return for Hampton-Court: But
 the courtiers, dreading still his near neighbourhood to the
 king, procured an order for him to remove to his see of
 York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to resist: He
 took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire, where he
 rendered himself extremely popular to the neighbour-
 hood, by his affability and hospitality¹: but he was not
 allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The
 earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard
 to Wolsey's ecclesiastical character, to arrest him for
 high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to
 his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his
 journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind,
 was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysen-
 tery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach
 Leicester-abbey. When the abbot and the monks ad-
 vanced to receive him with much respect and ceremony,
 he told them, that he was come to lay his bones among
 them; and he immediately took his bed, whence he never
 rose more. A little before he expired, he addressed himself
 in the following words to Sir William Kingston, constable
 of the Tower, who had him in custody. " I pray
 " you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal
 " majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his
 " remembrance all matters that have passed between us
 " from the beginning, especially with regard to his bu-
 " siness with the queen; and then will he know in his
 " conscience whether I have offended him.
 " He is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath
 " a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want
 " any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of
 " his kingdom.
 " I do assure you, that I have often kneeled before
 " him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him
 " from his will and appetite; but could not prevail:
 " Had

Nov. 28.

¹ Cavendish. Stowe, p. 554.

“ Had I but served God as diligently as I have served C H A P.
 “ the king, he would not have given me over in my grey XXX.
 “ hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive
 “ for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my 1530.
 “ service to God, but only to my prince. Therefore,
 “ let me advise you, if you be one of the privy-council,
 “ as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you
 “ put into the king’s head: For you can never get it
 “ out again ^K.”

THUS died this famous cardinal, whose character *Wolsey’s*
 seems to have contained as singular a variety as the for- *death.*
 tune, to which he was exposed. The obstinacy and vi-
 olence of the king’s temper may alleviate much of the
 blame, which some of his favourite’s measures have un-
 dergone; and when we consider, that the subsequent part
 of Henry’s reign was much more unfortunate and criminal
 than that which had been directed by Wolsey’s coun-
 sels, we shall be inclined to suspect of partiality those his-
 torians, who have endeavoured to load the memory of
 this minister with such violent reproaches. If in foreign
 politics, he sometimes employed his influence over the
 king for his private purposes, rather than his master’s
 interest, which, he boasted, he had solely at heart;
 we must remember, that he had in view the papal
 throne; a dignity, which, had he attained it, would
 have enabled him to make Henry a suitable return for all
 his favours. The cardinal d’Amboise, whose memory is
 precious in France, always made this apology for his own
 conduct, which was, in some respect, similar to Wolsey’s;
 and we have reason to think, that Henry was well ac-
 quainted with the motives by which his minister was in-
 fluenced. He regretted very much his death, when in-
 formed of it; and always spoke favourably of his me-
 mory: a proof, that humour, more than reason, or any
 discovery of treachery, had occasioned the last persecu-
 ons against him.

A NEW session of parliament was held, together with 1531.
 a convocation; and the king gave strong proofs of his 16th Jan.
 extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it *A Parlia-*
 to the depression of the clergy. As an antient statute, now *ment.*
 almost obsolete, had been employed to ruin Wolsey, and
 render his exercise of the legantine power criminal, not-
 withstanding

^K Cavendish.

CHAP. withstanding the king's permission; the same law was now
 XXX. turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended, that
 every one who had submitted to the legantine authority,
 1531. that is, the whole church, had violated the statute of provi-
 sors; and the attorney-general brought accordingly an
 indictment against them ^L. The convocation knew, that
 it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the
 king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have
 been the certain consequence of not submitting to Wol-
 sey's commission, which was procured by Henry's con-
 sent, and supported by his authority. They chose there-
 fore to throw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign;
 and they agreed to pay 118,840*l*. for their pardon ^M. A
 confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king*
was the protector and supreme head of the church and clergy
of England; though some of them had the dexterity to
 get a clause inserted, which invalidated the whole sub-
 mission, and which ran in these terms, *in so far as is per-*
mitted by the law of Christ.

THE commons, finding that a pardon was granted the
 clergy, began to be apprehensive for themselves, lest
 either they should afterwards be brought into trouble, on
 account of their submission to the legantine court, or a
 supply be extorted from them, in return for their par-
 don. They therefore petitioned the king, to grant a re-
 mission to his lay subjects; but they met with a repulse.
 He told them, that, if he ever pleased to forgive their of-
 fence, it would be from his own goodness, not from their
 application, lest he should seem to be compelled to it.
 Some time after, when they despaired of obtaining this
 concession, he was pleased to issue a pardon to the laity;
 and the commons expressed great gratitude for this act of
 clemency ^N.

1532. BY this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a
 great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of
 the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions be-
 tween the pope and the English clergy were in some mea-
 sure dissolved. The next session found both the king
 15th Jan. and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was
 passed

^L Antiq. Brit. Eccles. p. 325. Burnet, vol. i. p. 106.

^M Holingshed, p. 923.

^N Hall's chronicle. Hollingshed, p. 923. Baker, 208.

passed against levying the annates or first fruits °; being a year's rent of all the bishoprics that fell vacant: A tax which was imposed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to considerable sums. Since the second of Henry the seventh, no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome, on account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. of all the episcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was entrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure: And it was voted, that any censures that should be passed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

1532.
*Progress
of the re-
formation.*

THIS session the commons preferred to the king a long complaint against the abuses and oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them, when a difference arose, which put an end to the session, before the parliament had finished all their business. It was become a custom for men to make such settlements, or trust deeds, of their land by will, that they defrauded, not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the same artifice the king was deprived of his premier seisin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconsiderable branches of the revenue. Henry made a bill be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuse: He was contented, that every man should have the liberty of disposing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, "If they would not take a reasonable thing, when it was offered, he would search out the extremity of the law; and then would not offer them so much again." The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: A singular instance, where Henry might see, that his power and authority, tho' extensive, had yet some boundaries. The commons, however, found reason to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats: He called together the judges and ablest lawyers,

° Burnet, vol. i. Collect. N^o 41. Strype, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. lawyers, who argued the question in chancery; and it was decided, that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands, in prejudice of his heir ^P.

1532.
10 April.

THE parliament being again assembled after a short prorogation, the king caused the two oaths to be read to them; that which the bishops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their installation; and as a contradiction might be suspected between them, while the prelates seemed to swear allegiance to two sovereigns ^Q; the parliament shewed their intention of abolishing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were suddenly stopped by the breaking out of the plague at Westminster, which occasioned a prorogation. It is remarkable, that one Temse ventured this session to move, that the house should address the king, to take back the queen, and stop the prosecution of his divorce. This motion occasioned the king to send for Audley, the speaker; and to explain to him the scruples, with which his conscience had long been agitated; scruples, he said, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had arisen after the fervours of youth were past, and which were confirmed by the concurring sentiments of all the learned societies in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of, that any man had espoused two sisters; but he himself had the misfortune, he believed, to be the first Christian man who had ever married his brother's widow ^R.

AFTER the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament tended to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from this high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had nowise encroached on the gentleness of his temper, nor even diminished that frolic and gaiety, to which he was naturally inclined. He sported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride, naturally attending a high station, nor the melancholy, incident to poverty and retreat, could ever

^P Burnet, vol. i. p. 116. Hall. Parliamentary history.
^Q Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 124. ^R Herbert. Hall, fol. 205.

ever lay hold of his serene and equal spirit. While his family discovered symptoms of sorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence, to which they had been accustomed, he drew a subject of mirth from their distresses; and made them ashamed of losing even a moment's cheerfulness, on account of such trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, admitted his resignation with some difficulty; and he entrusted the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley.

DURING these transactions in England, and these invasions of the papal and ecclesiastical authority, the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained very just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom, which of all others, had long been most devoted to the holy see, and which had yielded it the most ample revenue. While the imperial cardinals pushed Clement to proceed to extremities against the king, his more moderate and impartial counsellors represented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had signalized himself, both by his pen and his sword, in the pope's cause, should be denied a favour, which he demanded on such just grounds, and which had scarce ever before been refused to any person of his rank and station. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held, to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to send any proxy to plead his cause before this court: He only dispatched Sir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excusators, so they were called, to carry his apology, for not paying that deference to the papal authority. The prerogatives of his crown, he said, must be sacrificed, if he allowed of appeals from his own kingdom; and as the question regarded conscience, not power or interest, no proxy could supply his place, or convey that satisfaction, which the dictates of his own mind could alone confer. In order to support himself in this measure, and add greater security to his defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship, as well as public alliance, with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by

CHAP. which, he believed, he had persuaded Francis to imitate
 XXX. his example in withdrawing his obedience from the bi-
 shop of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs
 1532: without having farther recourse to that see. And being
 14th Nov. now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute
 to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his
 marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he previously created
 marchioness of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, soon after
 raised to the bishopric of Coventry, officiated at the mar-
 riage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen,
 her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cran-
 mer, were present at the ceremony^s. Anne became
 pregnant soon after her marriage; and this event, both
 gave great joy to the king, and was regarded by the peo-
 ple as a strong proof of the queen's former modesty and
 virtue.

1533. THE parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in
 4th Feb. conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceed-
 ed still in those gradual and secure steps, by which they
 A Parlia- loosened their connexions with the see of Rome, and re-
 ment. pressed the usurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act
 was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matri-
 mony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ec-
 clesiastical courts; appeals esteemed dishonourable to the
 kingdom, by subjecting it to a foreign jurisdiction; and
 found to be infinitely vexatious, by the expence and the
 delay of justice, which necessarily attended them^t. The
 more to shew his disregard to the pope, Henry, finding
 the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned
 12th Apr. his marriage; and in order to remove all doubts with re-
 gard to its lawfulness, he prepared measures for declaring,
 by a formal sentence, the invalidity of his former mar-
 riage with Catherine: A sentence which ought naturally
 to have preceded his espousals of Anne^u.

THE king, amidst his scruples and remorse on account
 of his first marriage, had always treated Catherine with
 respect and distinction; and he endeavoured, by every
 soft and persuasive art, to engage her to depart from her
 appeal to Rome, and her opposition to his divorce.
 Finding her obstinate in maintaining the justice of her
 cause, he had totally forborne all visits and intercourse
 with

^s Herbert, p. 340, 341. ^t 24 Hen. VII. c. 12.
^u Collier, vol. ii. p. 31. and Records, No 8.

with her; and had desired her to make choice of any one of his palaces, in which she should please to reside. She had fixed her court for some time at Amphyll near Dunstable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbishop of Canterbury, on the death of Warham^x, was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was chosen, in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and as she made no answer to the citation, either by herself or proxy, she was declared *contumacious*; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cause. The evidences of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were produced; the opinions of the universities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and after these preparatory steps, Cranmer proceeded to a sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as unlawful and invalid. By a subsequent sentence, he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony^y. To complete the king's

C H A P.

XXX.

1533-

10th May,

H 2.

satisfaction,

^x Bishop Burnet has given us an account of the number of bulls requisite for Cranmer's installation. By one bull, directed to the king, he is, upon the royal nomination, made archbishop of Canterbury. By a second, directed to himself, he is made archbishop. By a third, he is absolved from all censures. A fourth, is to the suffragans, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as archbishop. A fifth to the dean and chapter, to the same purpose. A sixth to the clergy of Canterbury. A seventh to all the laity in his see. An eighth to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordained to be consecrated, ~~saying the oath that was in the pontifical~~. By a tenth bull the pall was sent him. By an eleventh, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These were so many artifices to draw fees to offices, which the popes had erected, and disposed of for money. It may be worth observing, that Cranmer, before he took the oath to the pope, made a protestation, that he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to; either by his duty to God, the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This device was the invention of some casuist, and not very compatible with that strict sincerity, and that scrupulous conscience, of which Cranmer made profession. Collier, vol. ii. in Coll. N^o 29. Burnet, vol. i. p. 128, 129.

^y Heylin, p. 6.

CHAP. satisfaction, on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the scepter with such renown and felicity. Henry was so much delighted with the birth of this child, that soon after he conferred on her the title of princess of Wales; a step somewhat irregular, as she was only presumptive, not apparent heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to bestow on the offspring of his present marriage, the same marks of distinction, as well as to exclude Mary from all hopes of the succession. His regard for the new queen seemed rather to increase than diminish by his marriage; and all men expected to see the entire ascendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had set her at so great a distance, and who, by a proper mixture of severity and indulgence, had long managed so intractable a spirit as that of Henry. In order to efface, as much as possible, all marks of his first marriage, Lord Mountjoy was sent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her, that she was henceforth to be treated only as princess-dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquiesce in that determination. But she continued obstinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and she would admit of no service from any person, who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generosity towards her, employed menaces against such of her servants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquish her title and pretensions^R.

WHEN intelligence was conveyed to Rome of these transactions, so injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy see, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive sentence, and to emit his spiritual thunders against Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's sentence, as well as that of Henry's second marriage; threatening him with excommunication, if, before the first of November ensuing,

^Q Burnet, vol. i. p. 134.
vol. i. p. 132.

^R Herbert, p. 326. Burnet,

suings; he did not replace every thing in the condition, in which they formerly stood^s. An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable conclusion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity against the king.

C H A P.

XXX.

1533.

THE pope had claims upon the dutchy of Ferrara for the sovereignty of Reggio and Modena^T; and having submitted his pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was surprized to find a sentence pronounced against him. Enraged at this disappointment, he hearkened to proposals of amity from Francis; and when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his second son, with Catherine of Medicis, niece to the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance, by which his family was so much honoured. An interview was even appointed of the pope and French king at Marseilles; and Francis, as a common friend, employed his good offices in mediating an agreement between his new ally and the king of England.

HAD this connexion of France with the see of Rome taken place a few years sooner, there had been little difficulty in composing the quarrel with Henry. The king's request was an ordinary one; and the same plenary power of the pope, which had granted a dispensation for his espousing Catherine, could easily have annulled the marriage. But in the progress of the quarrel, the state of affairs was much changed on both sides. Henry had shaken off much of that reverence, with which he had been early imbued for the apostolical see; and finding, that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his measures for breaking foreign dependance, he had taken a relish for his spiritual authority, and would scarce, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his submissions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, ran now a manifest risque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and as a sentence of divorce could no longer be rested on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be construed as an acknowledgment of papal usurpations, it was foreseen, that the Lutherans would thence take occasion of triumph, and

^s Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 566.
Guicciardini.

^T Burnet, vol. ii. p. 133.

C H A P. and would persevere more obstinately in their present principles. But notwithstanding these obstacles, Francis did not despair of mediating an agreement. He observed that the king had still some remains of prejudice in favour of the apostolic see, and was apprehensive of the consequences, which might ensue from too violent innovations. He saw plainly the interest, that Clement had in preserving the obedience of England, which was one of the richest jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped, that these motives on both sides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

1533.

King's formal breach with Rome.

FRANCIS first prevailed on the pope to promise, that, if the king would send a proxy to Rome, and thereby submit his cause to the holy see, he would appoint commissioners to meet at Cambray, and form the process; and he would immediately afterwards pronounce the sentence of divorce, required of him. Bellay, bishop of Paris, was next dispatched to London, and obtained a promise of the king, that he would submit his cause to the Roman consistory, provided the cardinals of the imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promise to Rome; and the pope agreed, that, if the king would sign a written agreement to the same purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the messengers; and all the world regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romish church, as drawing towards an amicable conclusion^u. But the greatest affairs often depend on the most frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day appointed: News were brought to Rome that a libel had been published in England against the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the pope and cardinals^x. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory enflamed with anger; and by a precipitate sentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his usual prudence, found, that, though he repented heartily of this

hasty

23d Mar.

^u Father Paul, lib. 1. ^x Ibid.

hasty measure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, CHAP-
or replace affairs on the same footing as before. XXX.

1534.

It is not probable, that the pope, had he conducted himself with ever so great moderation and temper, could hope, during the life-time of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was both impetuous and obstinate in his character; and having proceeded so far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been induced tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time, when he was negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained so little hopes of success, or was so indifferent about the event, that he had assembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally destructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding session had retrenched something from the power and profit of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during some years, to teach the nation, that a general council was much superior to the pope. But now a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross, in order to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was intitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own diocese^y. The proceedings of the parliament shewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reason to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable sentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his second marriage and the succession, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the apostolic see, but never could have surrendered to it any considerable share of his presumed prerogative. The importance of the laws, passed this session, even before news arrived of the violent resolutions taken at Rome, is sufficient to justify this opinion. *15th Jan. A Parliament.*

ALL payments made to the apostolic chamber; all provisions, bulls, dispensations, were abolished: Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone: The law for punishing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited to imprison or try any person upon suspicion alone, without presentment by two lawful witnesses; and it was declared that to speak against the pope's authority was no heresy: Bishops were to be appointed, by a *congè d'elire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and

^y Burnet, vol. i. p. 144.

CHAP. and no recourse was to be had to Rome for ~~pale~~ bulls, or provisions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the bishopries of Salisbury and Worcester, which they had hitherto enjoyed ²: The law, which had been formerly made against paying annates or first fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: And a submission, which was enacted two years before from the clergy, which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this session the sanction of parliament ^A. In this submission, the clergy acknowledge, that convocations ought only to be assembled by the king's authority; they promise to enact no new canons without his consent; and they agree, that he should appoint thirty-two commissioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate such as should be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative ^B. An appeal was also allowed from the bishop's court to the king in chancery.

30th Mar. BUT the most important law, passed this session, was that which regulated the succession to the crown: The marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect: The primate's sentence, annulling it, was ratified: And the marriage with queen Anne was established and confirmed. The crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage, and failing them to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewise was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession, under the penalty of imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all slander against the king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the penalty of misprision of treason. After these compliances, the parliament was prorogued; and those acts, so contemptuous towards the pope, and so destructive of his authority, were passed at the very time that Clement pronounced his hasty sentence against the king. Henry's resentment against queen Catherine, on account of her obstinacy, was the reason why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of succeeding to the crown; contrary to his first intention, when he began the suit of divorce, and of dispensation for a second marriage.

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² Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Angl.

^A 25 H. 8. c. 19.

^B Collier, vol. ii. p. 69, 70.

THE king found his ecclesiastical subjects as compliant C H A P. as the laity. The convocation ordered, that the act against appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, should be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: And they voted that the bishop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop; and that the authority, which he and his predecessors had exercised there, was only by usurpation and the sufferance of English princes. Four persons only opposed this vote in the lower house, and one doubted. It passed unanimously in the upper. The bishops went so far in their complaisance, that they took out new commissions from the crown, where all their spiritual and episcopal authority was expressly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magistrate, and to be entirely dependant on his good pleasure^c. XXX. 1534.

THE oath regarding the succession was generally sworn throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note, who entertained scruples with regard to its legality. Fisher was obnoxious on account of some practices, into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, seems to have betrayed him. But More was the person of greatest reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and as it was believed, that his authority would have influence on the sentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulness of the oath. He declared, that he had no scruple with regard to the succession, and thought that the parliament had full power to settle it: He offered to draw an oath himself, which would assure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refused the oath prescribed by law; because the preamble of that oath asserted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied, that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer, the primate, and Cromwel, now secretary of state, who highly loved and esteemed More, earnestly entreated him to lay aside his scruples; and their friendly importunity seemed to weigh more with him, than all the penalties attending his refusal^d. He persisted however, in a mild, though firm manner, to maintain his resolution; and the king,

^c Collier's Eccles. hist. vol. ii.

^d Burnet, vol. i. p. 156.

CHAP. king, irritated against him as well as Fisher, ordered them
 XXX. both to be indicted upon the statute, and committed prisoners to the tower.

1534. THE parliament, being again assembled, conferred on
 3d Nov. the king the title of the only supreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act, the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, or amend all errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." They also declared it treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tythes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a subsidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fisher for misprision of treason. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the English laws.

Thus the authority of the pope, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the excess of its acquisitions, and by stretching its pretensions beyond what it was possible for any human principles or prepossessions to sustain. The right of granting indulgences had in former ages contributed extremely to enrich the holy see; but being openly abused, they served to excite the first commotions and oppositions in Germany. The prerogative of granting dispensations had also contributed much to attack all the sovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but meeting with an unlucky concurrence of circumstances, was now the cause, why England separated herself from the Romish communion. The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy introduced there a greater simplicity into the government, by uniting the spiritual with the civil power, and preventing disputes about limits, which never could be exactly determined between the contending parties. A way was also prepared for checking the exorbitancy of superstition, and breaking those shackles, by which all human reason, policy, and industry, had so long been incumbered. The prince, it may

may be supposed, being head of the religion, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in nourishing its excessive growth; and, except when blinded by ignorance or bigotry, would be sure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuses. And on the whole, there followed, from these revolutions, very beneficial consequences; though perhaps neither foreseen nor intended by the persons who had the chief hand in conducting them.

CHAP.
XXX.
1534.

WHILE Henry proceeded with so much order and tranquillity in changing the antient religion, and while his authority seemed entirely secure in England, he was held in some inquietude by the state of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

THE earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, who bore the title of lieutenant; and as Kildare was accused of some violences against the family of Ossory, his hereditary enemies, he was called over to answer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his son, who hearing that his father was thrown into prison, and was in danger of losing his life, immediately took up arms, and joining himself to O'Neale, O'Carrol, and other Irish nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen, archbishop of Dublin, and laid siege to that city. Old Kildare mean-while died in prison, and his son, persevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promised him assistance. The king was obliged to send over some forces to Ireland, which so harrassed the rebels, that Kildare, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promises, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering himself prisoner to Lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorset. He was sent over to England, together with his five uncles; and after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public justice; though two of the uncles, in order to save the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

THE earl of Angus had acquired the entire ascendancy in Scotland; and having got possession of the king's person, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family,

CHAP. to retain the reins of government. The queen-dowager, however, his spouse, bred him great disturbance: For, having separated herself from him, on account of some jealousies and disquits, and having procured a divorce, she had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and she joined all the discontented nobility, who opposed Angus's authority. James himself was dissatisfied with the slavery, to which he was reduced; and by secret correspondence, he excited first Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt, by force of arms, to free him from the hands of Angus. Both enterprizes failed of success; but James, impatient of restraint, found means at last of flying to Stirling, where his mother then resided; and having summoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglasses, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands; and employed himself with great spirit and valour, in repressing those feuds, ravages, and disorders, which, though they disturbed the course of public justice, served to support the martial spirit of the Scots, and contributed, by that means, to maintain national independency. He was desirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but finding Francis in close union with England, and on that account somewhat cold in hearkening to his proposals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped, by means of such an ally, to breed disturbance to England. He offered the Scots king the choice of three princesses, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his sister the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his cousin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to dispose of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter proposal, had it not, upon reflection, been found impracticable; and his natural propensity to France at last prevailed over all other considerations. The alliance with Francis necessarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But though invited by his uncle, Henry, to confer with him at Newcastle, and concert common measures for repressing the ecclesiastics in both kingdoms, and shaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed with to

put

put himself in the king's power. In order to have a pre-
 text for refusing the conference, he applied to the pope,
 and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any per-
 sonal negotiations with an enemy of the holy see. From
 these measures, Henry easily concluded, that he could
 very little depend on the friendship of his nephew. But
 those events took not place till some time after our pre-
 sent period.

CHAP.
 XXX.
 1534.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXI.

Religious principles of the people — of the King — of the ministers — Further progress of the reformation — Sir Thomas More — The maid of Kent — Trial and execution of Fisher bishop of Rochester — of Sir Thomas More — King excommunicated — Death of queen Catherine — Suppression of the lesser monasteries — A Parliament — A convocation — Translation of the bible — Disgrace of queen Anne — Her trial — and execution — A Parliament — A convocation — Discontents among the people — Insurrection — Birth of prince Edward and death of queen Jane — Suppression of the greater monasteries — Cardinal Pole.

C H A P.
XXXI.

1534.
Religious principles of the people.

THE antient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interests between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the sovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own. These subjects seemed proportioned to human understanding; and even the people, who felt the power of interest in their own breasts, could perceive the purpose of those numerous inventions, which the interested spirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But when the reformers proceeded thence to dispute concerning the nature of the sacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were, during some time, at a loss how to chuse their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a sincere, but indolent acquiescence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reasoning, nor by those prejudices and antipathies against opponents, which have ever a more natural and powerful interest over them. As soon as a new opinion therefore was advanced, supported by such an authority as to call up their attention,

attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for such CHAP. disquisitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the XXXI. contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the most opposite directions: Hence their seeming prostitution, in sacrificing to present power the most sacred principles: And hence the rapid progress during some time, and the sudden as well as entire check soon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once settled in their particular sects, and had fortified themselves in an habitual detestation against those denominated heretics, they adhered with more obstinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions remained thenceforth fixed and unchangeable.

1534.

NOTHING forwarded more the first progress of the reformers, than the offer, which they made, of submitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the summons given to every one to examine the principles formerly imposed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it. They fancied, that they were exercising their judgment, while they opposed, to the prejudices of ancient authority, more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in suffering persecution, death, and torments; a disgust against the restraints of the old religion; an indignation against the tyranny and interested spirit of the ecclesiastics; these motives were prevalent with the people, and by such considerations were men so generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their ancestors.

BUT in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in some respects, dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy that implicit obedience, on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent, of shaking such an ancient and deep founded establishment as that of the Roman hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increased this jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace,
excited

CHAP. excited by Muncer and other anabaptists in Germany^a,
XXXI. furnished a new pretence for decrying the reformation.

1534.

Nor ought we to conclude, because protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of any other communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any appearance or plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted; and men are generally contented to acquiesce implicitly in those establishments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

No prince in Europe was possessed of such absolute authority, as Henry, not even the pope himself, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and ecclesiastical powers^c; and there was small likelihood, that any doctrine, which lay under the imputation of encouraging sedition, could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But besides this political jealousy, there was another reason, which inspired this imperious monarch with an aversion to the reformers. He had early declared his sentiments against Luther; and having entered the lists in those scholastic quarrels, he had received, from his courtiers and theologians, infinite applause for his performance. Elated by this imaginary success, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obstinacy of temper, he had entertained the most lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his sentiments. Luther also had been so imprudent, as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagonist; and though he afterwards made

*Of the
king.*

^a Sleidan, lib. 4. & 5.

^b Here are the terms in which the king's minister expressed himself to the pope. *An non, inquam, sanctitas vestra plerisque habet quibuscum arcanum aliquid crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur; quod multo magis serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo regno sunt subiecti, neque etiam velint, possunt Regi non esse fidelissimi. Væ namque illis, si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent.* Le Grand, tom. III. p. 113. The king once said publicly before the council, that if any one spoke of him or his actions, in terms which became them not, he would let them know that he was master. *Et qu'il n'iy auroit si belle tete qu'il ne fit voler.* Id. p. 218.

made the humblest submissions to Henry, and apologized **C H A P.** for the vehemence of his former expressions, he never **XXXI.** could efface the hatred, which the king had conceived against him and his doctrines. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to that prince; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had corrected one considerable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquish the rest. Separate as he stood from the catholic church and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his speculative principles. 1534.

HENRY's ministers and courtiers were of as motley a *Of the* character as his conduct; and seemed to waver, during *ministers.* this whole reign, between the antient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwel, who was created secretary of state, and who was every day advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the same views; and as he was a man of prudence and ability, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations: Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the protestant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity; virtues which he possessed in as eminent a degree as those times, equally distracted with faction and oppressed with tyranny, could easily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the antient faith; and by the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents, both for peace and war, he had much authority in the king's council: Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it.

ALL these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwel and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the antient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy, and to his renunciation of the

CHAP. the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for
 XXXI. the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those
 daring heretics, who had presumed to reject his theolo-
 1534. gical principles. Both sides hoped by their unlimited com-
 pliance to bring him over to their party: The king mean-
 while, who held the balance between the factions, was
 enabled, by the courtship paid him both by protestants
 and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority: And
 though in all these measures he was really driven by his
 ungoverned humour, he casually maintained a course,
 which led more certainly to arbitrary power, than any
 which the most profound politics could have traced out
 to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocrisy, in his situ-
 ation, would have put both parties on their guard against
 him, and would have taught them reserve in complying
 with a monarch, whom they could never hope thoroughly
 to have gained: But while the frankness, sincerity, and
 openness of Henry's temper were generally known, as
 well as the dominion of his furious passions; each side
 dreaded to lose him by the smallest opposition, and flat-
 tered themselves that a blind compliance with his will,
 would throw him, cordially and fully, into their interests.

THE ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept
 the courtiers in awe, served, in the main, to encourage
 the protestant doctrine among his subjects, and promoted
 that spirit of innovation, with which the age was gene-
 rally seized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity,
 as well as a steady severity in the administration, could
 be able to repress. There were some Englishmen, Tin-
 dal, Joye, Constantine, and others, who, dreading the
 exertion of the king's authority, had fled to Antwerp^A;
 where the great privileges, possessed by the Low Country
 provinces, served, during some time, to give them pro-
 tection. These men employed themselves in writing
 English books, against the corruptions of the church of
 Rome; against images, reliques, pilgrimages; and they
 excited the curiosity of men with regard to that question,
 the most important in theology, the terms of acceptance
 with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Luther-
 ans and other protestants, they asserted, that salvation
 was obtained by faith alone; and that the most infallible
 road

*Farther
 progress of
 the refor-
 mation.*

^A Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

road to perdition ^B was a reliance on *good works*; by which CHAP. XXXI.
 terms they understood, as well the moral duties, as the ceremonial and monastic observances. The defenders of the antient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of *good works*; but though they did not exclude from this appellation the social virtues, it was still the superstitions, gainful to the church, which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books, composed by these fugitives, having stole over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the scriptures by Tindal, that was esteemed most dangerous to the established faith. The first edition of this work, composed with little accuracy, was found liable to considerable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to lose a great part of the impression, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made sensible. Tonsal, then bishop of London, soon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being desirous to discourage, in the gentlest manner, these innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies which could be found at Antwerp; and he burnt them publicly in Cheapside. By this contrivance, he supplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great scandal to the people, in thus committing to the flames the word of God ^C.

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THE disciples of the reformation met with little severity during the ministry of Wolsey, who, though himself a clergyman, bore too small a regard to the ecclesiastical order, to serve as an instrument of their tyranny: It was even an article of impeachment against him ^D, that by his connivance he had encouraged the growth of heresy, and that he had protected and acquitted some notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who succeeded Wolsey *Sir Thomas More* as chancellor, is at once an object deserving our compa-

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sion,

^B Sacrilegium est et impietas velle placere Deo per opera & non per solam fidem. *Luther adversus regem*. Ita vides quam dives sit homo christianus sive baptizatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunque peccatis. Nulla enim peccata possunt eum damnare nisi incredulitas. *Id. de captivitate Babylonica*.

^C Hall, fol. 186. Fox, vol. i. p. 138. Burnet, vol. i. p. 159.

^D Articles of impeachment in Herbert. Burnet.

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sion, and an instance of the usual progress of mens sentiments during that age. This man, whose elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble spirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged sentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles, which even at present would be deemed somewhat libertine, had, in the course of events, been so irritated by polemics, and thrown into such a superstitious attachment to the antient faith, that few inquisitors have been guilty of greater violence in their prosecutions of heresy. Though adorned with the gentlest manners, as well as the purest integrity, he carried to the utmost height his aversion to herodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the Temple, experienced from him the highest severity. Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's house; and having refused to discover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipt in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all these severities, abjured his opinions; but feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for his apostacy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield^B.

MANY were brought into the bishops courts for offences, which appear very trivial, but which were regarded as symbols of the party: Some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. To harbour the persecuted preachers, to neglect the fasts of the church, to declaim against the views of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a priest, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was so haunted by remorse, that his friends dreaded some fatal effects of his despair. At last, his mind seemed to be more composed; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the resolution which he had taken, of expiating his past offence, by an open confession of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching every where the people to beware of idolatry, and of trusting for their salvation either to pilgrimages or to the cowl

of

^B Fox. Burnet, vol. i. p. 165.

of St. Francis, to the prayers of the saints, or to images. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, and condemned as a relapsed heretic; and the writ was sent down to burn him. When brought to the stake, he discovered such patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the spectators were much affected with the horrors of his punishment; and some mendicant friars, who were present, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them lose those alms, which they received from the charity of the people, desired him publicly to acquit them^F of having any hand in his death. He very willingly complied; and by this meekness gained the more on the sympathy of the people. Another person, still more heroic, being brought to the stake for denying the real presence, seemed almost in a transport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the fagots, which were to be the instruments of his punishment, as the means of procuring him eternal rest. In short, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, those severe executions, which, in another disposition of mens minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only the more to diffuse it among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

BUT though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the antient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him, "That many lying prophets had deceived him, but he, as a true Micajah, warned him, that the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's^G." The king took no notice of this insult; but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday, he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who justified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a slanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elston, another friar of the same house, interrupted the preacher; and told him, that he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown; but that

^F Burnet, vol. i. p. 164.^G Strype, vol. i. p. 167.

CHAP. that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said.
 XXXI. Henry silenced this petulant friar; but shewed no other
 mark of resentment than ordering Peyto and him to be
 1534. summoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their
 offence^H. He even here bore patiently some new in-
 stances of their obstinacy and arrogance. For when the
 earl of Essex, a privy counsellor, told them, that they
 deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames;
 Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by
 water as by land^I.

BUT several monks were detected in a conspiracy,
 which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the
 king, was on its discovery attended with more fatal con-
 sequences to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Alding-
The Maid of Kent. ton in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*,
 had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body
 into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal
 disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings,
 which, as she was scarce conscious of them during the
 time, had soon after entirely escaped her memory. The
 silly people in the neighbourhood were struck with these
 appearances, which they imagined to be supernatural;
 and Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, a designing
 fellow, founded on them a project, by which he hoped
 to draw both profit and consideration to himself. He went
 to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, then alive; and
 having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations,
 he so far wrought on that prudent, but superstitious pre-
 late, as to receive orders from him to watch her in her
 trances, and to note down carefully all her future sayings.
 The regard, paid her by a person of so high a rank, soon
 rendered her still more the object of attention to the
 neighbourhood; and it was easy for Masters to persuade
 them, as well as the maid herself, that her sayings were
 inspirations of the Holy Ghost. Knavery, as is usual,
 soon after succeeding to illusion, she learned to counter-
 feit trances; and she then uttered, in an extraordinary
 tone of voice, such speeches as were dictated to her by
 her spiritual director. Masters associated with him Dr.
 Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their design was
 to raise the credit of an image of the virgin, which stood
 in

^H Collier, vol. ii. p. 86. Burnet, vol. i. p. 151.
 p. 562.

^I Stowe,

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in a chapel belonging to Masters, and to draw to it such pilgrimages as usually frequented the more famous images and reliques. In prosecution of this design, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourse to that image for a cure; and being brought before it, in the presence of a great multitude, she fell anew into convulsions; and after distorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, she affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the intercession of the virgin ^K. This miracle was soon bruited abroad; and the two priests, finding the imposture to succeed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterprizes. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's divorce from Catherine. She went so far as to assert, that, if he prosecuted that design, and married another, he should not be a king a month longer, and should not an hour longer possess the favour of the Almighty, but should die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly, or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into this delusion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth ^L. Miracles were daily added, to increase the wonder; and the pulpit every where resounded with accounts of the sanctity and inspirations of this new prophetess. Messages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princess was exhorted to persist in her opposition to the divorce; the pope's ambassadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, tho' a man of sense and learning, was carried away with an opinion so favourable to the party, which he had embraced ^M. The king at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arrested, he brought them before the star-chamber, where they freely, without being put to the torture, made confession of their guilt. The parliament, in the session held the beginning of this year, passed an act of attainder against some who were

^K Stowe, p. 570.

Blanquet's Epitome of Chronicles.

^L Strype, vol. i. p. 181.^M Collier, vol. ii. p. 87.

CHAP. were engaged in this treasonable imposture^N; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Risby, Gold, suffered for their crime. The bishop of Rochester, Abel, Addison, Laurence, and others, were condemned for misprision of treason; because they had not discovered some criminal speeches which they heard from Elizabeth^O: And they were thrown into prison. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the prophets's miracles was detected; and even the scandalous prostitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Those passions, which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found, that a door to her dormitory, which was said to have been miraculously opened, in order to give her access to the chapel, for the sake of frequent converse with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Masters for less refined purposes.

1535. THE detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, hurt much the credit of the ecclesiastics, particularly of the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars; and finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the rest. Meanwhile, he exercised punishment on individuals, who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treason to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: They had lately added to his other titles, that of supreme head of the church: It was inferred, that to deny his supremacy was treason; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of guilt. It was certainly a high instance of tyranny to punish the mere delivery of a political opinion, especially one that nowise affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament, in passing this law, had overlooked all the principles, by which a civilized, much more a free people, should be governed: But the violence of changing so suddenly the whole system of government, and making it

^N 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12. Burnet, vol. i. p. 149. Hall, fol. 220. ^O Godwin's Annals, p. 53.

It treason to deny what, during many ages, it had been CHAP. heresy to assert, is an event which may appear somewhat XXXI. extraordinary. Even the stern unrelenting mind of Henry was, at first, shocked with these sanguinary measures; and he went so far as to change his garb and dress; pretending sorrow for the necessity, by which he was pushed to such extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and desirous of striking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fisher and More, to consummate his lawless tyranny.

1535.

JOHN FISHER, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate, *Trial and eminent for learning and morals, still more than for his execution ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour, which he of Fisher, had long possessed with the king. When he was thrown bishop of into prison, on account of his refusing the oath of suc- Rochester. cession, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treasonable speeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but stripped of his very cloaths, and without consideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which scarce sufficed to cover his nakedness^p. In this condition, he lay in prison above a twelve-month; when the pope, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fisher was so careless of that dignity, that, even if the purple were lying on the ground, he declared that he would not stoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king; and he resolved to make the innocent person feel the effects of his resentment. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy, was tried, 22d June. condemned, and beheaded.*

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warn- *Of Sir ing to More, whose compliance, on account of his great Thomas authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputa- More. tion for learning and virtue, was anxiously desired by the king. That prince also bore as great personal affection and regard to More, as his imperious mind, the sport of passions, was susceptible of towards a man, who in any particular opposed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion so contrary to his principles as that of the king's supremacy; and though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole*

^p Fuller's Church Hist. book 5, p. 203.

CHAPTER. whole nation, there was, as yet, no law obliging any one
 XXXI. to take an oath to that purpose. Rich, the solicitor general, was sent to confer with More, then a prisoner, who
 1535. kept a cautious silence with regard to the supremacy: He was only inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law, which established that prerogative, was like a two-edged sword: If a person answer one way, it will confound his soul; if another, it will destroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treason against the prisoner. His silence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and these words, which had casually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the supremacy. Trials were mere formalities during this reign: The jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up, and when I go down again let me shift for myself." The executioner asking him forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end, except a better cause, more free from weakness and superstition. But as the man followed his principles and sense of duty, however misguided, his constancy and integrity are equally objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

6th July.

WHEN the execution of Fisher and More was reported at Rome, especially that of the former, who was invested with the dignity of cardinal, every one discovered the most violent rage against the king; and numerous libels were published, by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the most unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement the seventh had died about six months after he pronounced sentence

More's Life of Sir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 393.

tence against the king; and Paul the third, of the name C H A P. XXXI.
of Farnese, had succeeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who had always favoured Henry's cause while a cardinal, had hoped, that, personal animosities being buried with his predecessor, it might not be impossible to form an agreement with England: And the king himself was so desirous of accommodating matters, that in a negotiation, which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required, that that monarch should conciliate a friendship between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accustomed to prescribe, not to receive terms; and even while he was negotiating peace, his usual violence often carried him to commit offences, which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fisher was regarded by Paul, as so capital an injury, that he immediately passed censures against the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to answer for their crimes: If they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his realm; subjected the kingdom to an interdict; declared his issue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; dissolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms against him; freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign states; and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, to make slaves of their persons, and to convert their effects to his own use^R. But though these censures were passed, they were not at that time openly denounced: The pope delayed the publication, till he should find an agreement with England entirely desperate; and till the emperor, who was at present hard pressed by the Turks and the protestant princes in Germany, should be in a condition to carry the sentence into execution.

THE king knew, that he might expect any injury, which it should be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his resentment upon him^S. He renewed his friendship with Francis, and opened negotiations for marrying his infant daughter, Elizabeth, with the duke of Angouleme, third son of Francis. These two monarchs also made advances to the

^R Sanders, p. 148.

^S Herbert, p. 350, 351.

CHAP. the princes of the protestant league in Germany, who
 XXXI. were ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: And Henry,
 besides remitting them some money, sent Fox, bishop of
 1535. Hereford, as Francis did Bellay, lord of Langey, to treat
 with them. But during the first fervours of the reformation,
 an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well
 as an union of interest, to be essential to a good correspondence
 among states; and though both Francis and Henry flattered the
 German princes with hopes of their embracing the confession of
 Ausbourg, it was looked upon as a bad symptom of their
 sincerity, that they exercised such extreme rigour against
 all preachers of the reformation in their respective dominions^T.
 Henry carried the feint so far, that, while he thought himself
 the first theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon,
 Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they
 might confer with him, and instruct him in the foundation of
 their tenets. These theologians were now of great importance
 in the world; and no poet or philosopher, even in ancient
 Greece, where they were treated with most respect, had ever
 reached equal applause and admiration with these wretched
 composers of metaphysical polemics. The German princes
 told the king, that they could not spare their divines; and as
 Henry had no hopes of agreement with such zealous disputants,
 and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not
 associate with the disciples of Zuinglius, because, though they
 agreed in every thing else, they differed in some particulars
 with regard to the eucharist, he was the more indifferent on
 account of this refusal. He could also foresee, that even while
 the league of Smalcalde did not act in concert with him, they
 would always be carried by their interests to oppose the
 emperor: And the hatred between Francis and that monarch was
 so inveterate, that he deemed himself sure of a sincere ally
 in one or other of these potentates.

DURING these negotiations an incident happened in England,
 which promised a more amicable conclusion of these disputes,
 and seemed even to open a way for a reconciliation between
 Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a
 lingering illness, which at last brought

^T Steidan, lib. 10.

brought her to her grave: She died at Kimbolton in the County of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before she expired, she wrote a very tender letter to the king; where she gave him the appellation of *her most dear lord, king, and husband*. She told him, that as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment: That though his fondness towards these perishing advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himself much trouble, she yet forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that this pardon would be ratified in heaven: And that she had no other request to make, but to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things*^U. The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit^W.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1536.
6th Jan.
Death of
queen
Catherine.

THE emperor thought, that, as the decease of his aunt had removed all foundation for personal animosity between him and Henry, it might not now be impossible to detach him from the alliance of France, and renew that confederacy with England, from which he had formerly reaped so much advantage. He sent Henry proposals for a return to antient amity, upon these conditions^X; that he should be reconciled to the see of Rome; that he should assist him in his war with the Turk; and that he should take part with him against Francis, who now threatened the dutchy of Milan. The king replied, that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided he would acknowledge, that the former breach of friendship came entirely from himself: As to the conditions proposed, the proceedings against the bishop of Rome were so just, and so fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Christian princes should have settled peace among themselves, he would not fail to exert that vigour, which became him, against

^U Herbert; p. 403. ^W Burnet, vol. i. p. 192. ^X Du Bellay, liv. 5. Herbert. Burnet, vol. iii. in Coll. No 50.

CHAP. against the enemies of the faith; and after amity with
 XXXI. the emperor was once fully restored, he would then be in
 a situation, as a common friend both to him and Francis,
 1536. either to mediate an agreement between them, or to assist the injured party.

WHAT rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor, was, both his experience of the usual duplicity and insincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the present transactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, was dead without issue; and the emperor maintained that the dutchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him, as the head of the Germanic body: Not to give umbrage, however, to the states of Italy, he professed his intention of bestowing that principality on some prince, who should be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to substitute his second son, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to close with this proposal. But his sole intention, in that liberal concession, was to gain time, till he should put himself in a warlike posture, and be able to carry an invasion into Francis's dominions. The antient enmity between these princes broke out anew in bravades, and in personal insults on each other, not becoming persons of their rank, and still less suitable to men of such unquestioned bravery. Charles soon after invaded Provence in person, with an army of fifty thousand men; but met with no success. His army perished with sickness, fatigue, famine, and other disasters; and he was obliged to raise the siege of Marseilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialists, near 30,000 strong, which invaded France on the side of the Netherlands, and laid siege to Peronne, made no greater progress, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the satisfaction to find, both that his ally, Francis, was likely to support himself without foreign assistance, and that his own tranquillity was fully ensured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the English court, it was solely occasioned by the state of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the distressed situation of his ally,
 Francis,

Francis, very generously levied some forces; and embarking them on board vessels, which he had hired for that purpose, landed them safely in France. He even came over in person; and making haste to join the French king's camp, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulsed the emperor's invasion, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by so agreeable and seasonable an instance of friendship, the king of Scots made suit to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch, who had no other scruple in agreeing to the match, than what was derived from the infirm state of his daughter's health, which seemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But James having gained the affections of the princess, and obtained her consent, the father would no longer oppose the united desires of his daughter and his friend; and they were accordingly married, and soon after set sail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreseen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid, lest his ally, Henry, whom he likewise looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is usual among great princes, should be displeased, that this close confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore dispatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this measure; but Henry, with his usual openness and freedom, expressed such displeasure, that he refused even to confer with the ambassador; and Francis was apprehensive of a rupture with a prince, who regulated his measures more by humour and passion than by the rules of political prudence. Henry however was so fettered by the opposition, in which he was engaged against the pope and the emperor, that he pursued no farther this disgust against Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity both on the side of France and Scotland.

THE domestic peace of England seemed to be exposed to more hazard, by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed, that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing ensured public tranquillity so much as the decisive authority acquired by the king, and his great ascendant over all his subjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown, was profound during that age: The personal

CHAP. personal respect, inspired by Henry, was considerable; and even the terrors, with which he overawed every one, were not attended with any considerable degree, of hatred. His frankness, his sincerity, his magnificence, his generosity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuosity. And the important rank, which his vigour, more than address, acquired him in all foreign negotiations, flattered the vanity of Englishmen, and made them the more willingly endure those domestic hardships, to which they were exposed. The king, conscious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the most dangerous trial of his authority; and after paving the way for that measure by several expedients, he was at last determined to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues.

THE great encrease of monasteries, if matters be considered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other disadvantage, attending that communion, seems to have an inseparable connection with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, the tyranny of the inquisition, the multiplication of holidays; all these fetters on liberty and industry, were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuation of monks, whose habitations being established every where, proved so many colonies of superstition and folly. This order of men was extremely enraged against Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed, against the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now subjected to the king's visitation; the supposed sacredness of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progress of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monastic state, gave them reason to expect like consequences in England; and though the king still maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which most of the convents owed their origin and support, it was foreseen, that, in the progress of the contest, he would every day be led to depart wider from antient institutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political interests naturally induced him to ally himself. Moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to enflame the people against the

the king's government; and Henry, finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, was determined to seize the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

CHAP.
XXXI

1536

CROMWEL, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent, a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute, uncontrollable power, assumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellasis, and others, as commissioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous enquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, especially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adversaries; and as it was known, that the king's intention in this visitation was to find a pretence for abolishing monasteries, we may naturally conclude, that the reports of the commissioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations against their brethren: the slightest evidence was credited; and even the calumnies spread abroad by the friends of the reformation, were regarded as grounds of proof. Monstrous disorders are therefore said to have been found in many of the religious houses; Whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness: Signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. It is indeed probable, that the blind submission of the people, during those ages, would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more dissolute, than they are in any Roman catholic country at present: But still, the reproaches, which it is safest to credit, are such as point at vices, naturally connected with the very institutions of convents, and with the monastic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commissioners mentioned, are very credible, among men, who, being confined together within the same walls, never can forget their mutual animosities, and who, being cut off from all the most endearing connections of nature, are commonly cursed with hearts more selfish, and tempers more unrelenting, than fall to the share of other men. The pious frauds, practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, may be regarded as certain, in an order founded on illusions, lies, and superstition. The supine idleness also, and its attendant, profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached,

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reproached,

C H A P. reproached, admit of no question; and though monks were the true preservers, as well as inventors, of the dreaming and captious philosophy of the schools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men, whose life, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raise the mind, or cultivate the genius.

SOME few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition carried on by Cromwel and his commissioners, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received small pensions as the reward of their obsequiousness. Orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whose vows were, on that account, supposed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and all those recovered their liberty who desired it. But as all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose, he had recourse to his usual instrument of power, the parliament; and in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the visitors was published, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation against institutions, which, to their ancestors, had been the objects of the most profound veneration.

4th Feb.
A Parlia-
ment.

Suppression
of the lesser
monasteries.

THE king, though determined to abolish utterly the monastic orders, resolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no further at present, than to suppress the lesser monasteries, who possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a year ^Y. These were found to be the most corrupted, as lying less under the restraint of shame, and being exposed to less scrutiny ^Z; and it was deemed safest to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and seventy-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more ^A. It does not appear that any opposition was

^Y 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.

^Z Burnet, vol. i. p. 193.

^A It is pretended, see Holingshed, p. 939, that ten thousand monks were turned out on the dissolution of the lesser monasteries.

was made to this important law: So absolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of these funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumstance, that Henry intended to proceed in despoiling the church of her patrimony^B. C H A P. XXXL.
1536.

THE act formerly passed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commissioners for framing a body of canon law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought, that the present confusion of that law increased his authority, and kept the clergy in still greater dependance.

FARTHER progress was made in completing the union of Wales with England: The separate jurisdictions of several great lords or marches, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where. Some jurisdictions of a like nature in England were also abolished^C this session.

THE commons, sensible that they had gained nothing by opposing the king's will, when he formerly endeavoured to secure the profits of wardships and liveries, were now contented to frame a law^D, such as he dictated to them. It was enacted, that the possession of land shall be adjudged to be in those who have the use of it, not in those to whom it is transferred in trust.

AFTER all these laws were passed, the king dissolved the parliament; a parliament memorable, not only for 14 April. the great and important innovations which it introduced, but also for the long time it had sat, and the frequent prerogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it so obsequious to his will, that he did not chuse, during these religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the same parliament above six years: A practice, at that time, unusual in England.

THE convocation, which sat during this session, was *convo-* engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on *cation*.

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the

nasteries. If so, most of them must have been Mendicants: For the revenue could not have supported near that number. The Mendicants, no doubt, still continued their former profession. ^B 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27. ^C 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4. ^D 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

CHAP. the new translation which was projected of the scriptures.
XXXI. Tindal had formerly given a translation, and it had been

1536.

greedily read by the people; but as the clergy complained of it, as very inaccurate and unfaithful, it was now proposed to them, that they should themselves publish a translation, which would not be liable to those objections. The friends of the reformation asserted, that nothing could be more absurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word itself of God, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which, for the purpose of universal salvation, had published that salutary doctrine to all nations: That if this practice was not very absurd, the artifice at least was very barefaced, and proved a consciousness, that the glosses and traditions of the clergy stood in direct opposition to the original text, dictated by Supreme Intelligence: That it was now necessary for the people, so long abused by interested pretensions, to see with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the ecclesiastics were founded on that charter, which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven: And that as a spirit of research and curiosity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the pretensions of different sects, the proper materials for decision, and above all, the holy scriptures, should be set before them; and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had somewhat obscured, be again, by their means, revealed to mankind.

THE favourers of the antient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people see with their own eyes, was a mere cheat, and was itself a very barefaced artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to seduce them from those pastors, whom the laws, whom antient establishments, whom heaven itself had appointed for their spiritual direction: That the people were, by their ignorance, their stupidity, their necessary avocations, totally unqualified to choose their own principles, and it was a mockery to set materials before them, of which they could not possibly make any proper use: That even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compass of human reason, the laws had, in a great measure, deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own

own and the public interest, regulated their conduct and behaviour; That theological questions were placed far beyond the sphere of vulgar comprehension; and ecclesiastics themselves, though assisted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an assiduous study of the science, could not be fully assured of a just decision; except by the promise made them in scripture, that God would be ever present with his church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against her: That the gross errors adopted by the wisest heathens, proved how unfit men were to grope their own way, through this profound darkness; nor would the scriptures, if trusted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, these fatal illusions: That sacred writ itself was involved in so much obscurity, was exposed to so many difficulties, contained so many appearing contradictions, that it was the most dangerous weapon, which could be intrusted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: That the poetical style, in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: That a thousand sects must arise, which would pretend, each of them, to derive its tenets from the scripture; and would be able, by specious arguments, or even without specious arguments, to seduce silly women and ignorant mechanics, into a belief of the most monstrous principles: And that if ever this disorder, dangerous to the magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or enquiry, to adhere peaceably to antient, and therefore the more secure, establishments.

THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to ecclesiastical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter. A vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the scriptures; and in three years time this great work was finished, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers; and a considerable advancement,

© H A P. ment of their cause. Farther progress was soon expected
 XXXI. after such important successes.

1536.

*Disgrace
 of queen
 Anne.*

BUT while the retainers of the new religion were triumphing in their prosperity, they met with a mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes: Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, lost the king's favour; and soon after her life, from the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered constantly in his love to this lady, during six years that his prosecution of the divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection, which had subsisted so long under difficulties, had no sooner attained secure possession of its object, than it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently alienated from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived this fatal change; and they were very forward to widen the breach, when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had brought forth a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for this misfortune^B. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her, was his jealousy.

ANNE, tho' she appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous, in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to these freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial, practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself in an easy familiarity with persons, who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Wicked instruments interposed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen: The viscountess of Rocheford, in particular, who

was

^B Burnet, vol. i. p. 196.

was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind; and as she was a woman of a very profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested. She pretended, that her own husband was engaged in a criminal correspondence with his sister; and not contented with this imputation, she poisoned every action of the queen, and represented each instance of favour, which she conferred on any one, as a token of affection. Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston, and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship; and they served her with a zeal and attachment, which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance; and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one who came within the verge of its fury.

HAD Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorse and contrarieties; and might at last have served only to augment that affection, on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride: His love was wholly transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him; and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured than disgraced by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than those which he sought to avoid, by forming that legal connexion. And having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion, which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

THE

CHAP. THE king's jealousy appeared openly in a tilting at
 XXXI. Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her
 handkerchief; an incident probably casual, but interpreted
 by him as an instance of gallantry to some of her pa-
 ramours^G. He immediately retired from the place;
 sent orders to confine her to her chamber; arrested Nor-
 ris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her
 brother, Rocheford; and threw them into prison. The
 queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought
 that he meant only to try her; but finding him in ear-
 nest, she reflected on his obstinate unrelenting spirit, and
 she prepared herself for that melancholy doom, which
 was awaiting her. Next day, she was sent to the tower;
 and on her way thither, she was informed of her sup-
 posed offences, of which she had been hitherto ignorant;
 She made earnest protestations of her innocence; and
 when she entered the prison, she fell on her knees, and
 prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the
 crime imputed to her. Her surprize and confusion threw
 her into hysterical disorders; and in that situation, she
 thought that the best proof of innocence was to make an
 entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and
 levities, which her simplicity had equally betrayed her
 to commit and to avow. She owned, that she had once
 rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told
 him, that he probably expected her, when she should be
 a widow: She had reproved Weston, she said, for his
 affection to a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference to-
 wards his wife: But he told her, that she had mistaken
 the object of his affection, for it was herself: Upon
 which, she defied him^H. She affirmed, that Smeton
 had never been in her chamber but twice, when he
 played on the harpsichord: But she acknowledged, that
 he had once had the boldness to tell her, that a look suf-
 ficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the
 candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these
 indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more crimi-
 nal intimacies.

OF all those multitudes, whom the beneficence of the
 queen's temper had obliged, during her prosperous for-
 tune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's
 fury; and the person, whose advancement every breath
 had

^G Barret, vol. i. p. 198.

^H Strype, vol. i. p. 281.

had favoured, and every countenance had smiled upon, CHA P.
 was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, XXXI.
 the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party
 to the ties of blood, was become her most dangerous
 enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion
 hoped, that her death would terminate the king's quarrel
 with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early
 bent, which had inclined him to support the most intimate
 connexions with the apostolic see. Cranmer alone, of
 all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for
 her; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him,
 he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices, en-
 tertained against her. 1536.

THE queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the
 tower, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the
 warmest protestations of innocence. It contains so much
 nature and even elegance, as to deserve to be transmitted
 to posterity, without any alteration of the expression.
 It is as follows.

“ SIR, your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment
 “ are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or
 “ what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas
 “ you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and
 “ so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom you
 “ know to be mine antient professed enemy, I no sooner
 “ received this message by him, than I rightly conceived
 “ your meaning; and, if, as you say, confessing a truth
 “ indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willing-
 “ ness and duty perform your command.

“ BUT let not your grace ever imagine, that your
 “ poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault,
 “ where not so much as a thought thereof preceded.
 “ And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loy-
 “ al in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have
 “ ever found in Anne Boleyn: With which name and
 “ place I could willingly have contented myself, if God
 “ and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither
 “ did I at any time so far forgot myself in my exaltation
 “ or received queenship, but that I always looked for
 “ such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my
 “ preferment being on no surer foundation than your
 “ grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and
 “ sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object.
 “ You have chosen me from a low estate to be your
 “ queen

CHAP. " queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire.
 XXXI. " If then you found me worthy of such honour, good
 1536: " your grace let not any light fancy, or bad council of
 " mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from
 " me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a
 " disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so
 " foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant-
 " princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let
 " me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies
 " sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an
 " open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame; then
 " shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your sus-
 " picion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slan-
 " der of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared.
 " So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me,
 " your grace may be freed from an open censure, and
 " mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is
 " at liberty, both before God and man, not only to exe-
 " cute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife,
 " but to follow your affection, already settled on that
 " party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name
 " I could some good while since have pointed unto, your
 " grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.
 " But if you have already determined of me, and
 " that not only my death, but an infamous slander must
 " bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then
 " I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin
 " therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments
 " thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict ac-
 " count for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at
 " his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself
 " must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt
 " not (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine in-
 " nocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.
 " My last and only request shall be, that myself may
 " only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and
 " that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor
 " gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait
 " imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found fa-
 " vour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn
 " hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain
 " this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace
 " any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity
 " to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct
 " you

“ you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in CHAP.
 “ the Tower, this sixth of May. XXXI.

“ Your most loyal

“ and ever faithful wife,

1536.

“ ANNE BOLEYN.”

THIS letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hear-say report from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen¹; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession; For they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed; as were also Brereton and Weston; Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer was made him of life, if he would confess his crime, and accuse the queen: But he generously rejected that proposal; and said, that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless. But, for his part, he could accuse her of nothing, and he would die a thousand deaths rather than calumniate an innocent person.

THE queen and her brother were tried by a jury of *Her trial.* peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more: Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown; The chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to her minions, that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them apart, that she loved him better than any person whatsoever: *Which was to the slander of the issue begot between the king and her:* By this strained interpretation, her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were, at that time, admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient

¹ Burnet, vol. i. p. 202.

CHAP. ficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the
 XXXI. cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel,
 1536. she defended herself with great judgment and presence of
 mind; and the spectators could not forbear pronouncing
 her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given
 by the court, both against the queen and lord Rocheford;
 and her verdict contained, that she should be burned or
 beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful
 sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lift-
 ing up her hands to heaven, said, "O, Father! O,
 "Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the
 "life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death."
 And then turning to the judges, made the most pathetic
 declarations of her innocence.

HENRY, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was
 resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn,
 and to declare her issue illegitimate: He recalled to his
 memory, that, a little after her appearance in the English
 court, some attachment had been acknowledged between
 her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy;
 and he now questioned the nobleman with regard to
 these engagements. Northumberland took an oath be-
 fore the two archbishops, that no contract nor promise of
 marriage had ever passed between them: He received
 the sacrament upon it, before the duke of Norfolk, and
 others of the privy council; and this solemn act he ac-
 companied with the most solemn protestations of veraci-
 ty*. The queen, however, was shaken by menaces of
 executing the sentence pronounced against her in its great-
 est rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court, some
 lawful impediment to her marriage with the king^L. The
 afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself
 obliged by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null
 and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did
 not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent,
 and that if her marriage was, from the beginning, inva-
 lid, she could not possibly be guilty of adultery.

*And exe-
 cution.*

THE queen now prepared for suffering that death to
 which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to
 the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she
 owed him, in continuing thus uniformly his endeavours
 for her advancement: From a private gentlewoman, she
 said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen,
 and

* Herbert, p. 384.

^L Heylin, p. 94.

and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender:" Upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold, she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected, that the obstinacy of queen Catherine, and her resistance to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary; and her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, prevailed in these last moments over that indignation, which the unjust sentence, by which she suffered, naturally excited in her. She said, that she was come to die, as she was sentenced, by the law: She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and acknowledged, that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best ^M. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower.

1536.

19th May.

THE innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reasonably be called in question. Henry himself, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuse as her lover; and though he imputed guilt to her brother, and four persons more, he was able to bring proof against none of them. The whole tenour of her conduct forbids us to ascribe to her an abandoned character, such as is implied in the king's accusation; and had she been so lost to all prudence and sense of shame, she must have exposed herself to detection, and afforded her enemies the clearest evidence against her. But the king made the most effectual apology for her, by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution ^N. His impatience

^M Burnet, vol. i. p. 205..^N Ibidem, p. 207.

CHAP. tience to gratify this new passion caused him to forget all
 XXXI. regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not softened a
 1536. moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had
 so long been the object of his most tender affections.

THE lady Mary thought the death of her step-mother a proper opportunity for reconciling herself with the king, who, besides other causes of disgust, had been offended with her, on account of the part which she had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her advances were not at first received; and Henry exacted from her some further proofs of submission and obedience: He required this young princess, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his supremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be incestuous and unlawful. These points were of hard digestion with the princess; but after some delays, and even refusals, she was at last prevailed with to write a letter to her father^o, containing her assent to the articles required of her: Upon which she was received into favour. But notwithstanding the return of the king's affection to the issue of his first marriage, he divested not himself of kindness towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was blest with a singular sweetness of disposition, discovered strong proofs of attachment to that young princess.

8th June.
 A Parliament.

THE trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the subsequent events, made it necessary for the king to summon a new parliament; and he here, in his speech, made a merit to his people, that, notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to venture on a third. The speaker received this profession with suitable gratitude; and he took thence occasion to praise the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: He compared him, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of his chancellor, that he disavowed these praises; since, if he was really possessed of such virtues, they were the gifts of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament were equally submissive in deeds as complaisant in their expressions, and that they would go the same lengths as
 the

the former in gratifying even his most lawless passions. C H A P. XXXI.
 His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; that queen, and all her accomplices, were attainted; the issue of both the two former marriages were declared illegitimate, and it was even made treason to assert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any slander upon the present king, queen, or their issue, was subjected to the same penalty; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and in case he should die without children, he was empowered by his will, or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: An enormous authority^p, especially when entrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refused to answer upon oath to any article of this act of settlement, was declared to be guilty of treason; and by this clause a species of political inquisition was established in the kingdom, as well as the accusations of treason multiplied to an unreasonable degree. The king was also empowered to confer on any one, by his will, or letters patent, any castles, honours, liberties, or franchises; words which might have been extended to the dismembering of the kingdom, by the erection of principalities and independent jurisdictions. It was also, by another act, made treason to marry, without the king's consent, any prince or princess related in the first degree to the crown. This act was occasioned by the discovery of a design, formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to espouse the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king, by his sister the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the Tower. She recovered her liberty soon after; but he died in confinement. An act of attainder passed against him this session of parliament.

A NEW accession was likewise gained to the authority of the crown: the king or any of his successors was empowered to repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever acts of parliament had passed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of

^p The king is thought to have had a design of leaving the crown, in case of the failure of his lawful male issue, to his favourite son, the duke of Richmond. But the death of that promising nobleman, which happened soon after, disappointed all projects in his favour. Heylin, p. 6.

CHAP. of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured
 XXXI. in any manner to restore it in England, was subjected to
 1536. the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any person who possessed any office, ecclesiastical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treason. The renunciation prescribed runs in the style of *So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists* &c. The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's disgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making some advances to Henry: But this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become absolutely indifferent with regard to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. This parliament also, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the respect of his subjects, and what confidence he might repose in them. Though the elections had been made of a sudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members discovered an unlimited attachment to his person and government ^R.

A convocation. THE extreme complaisance of the convocation; which sat at the same time with the parliament, encouraged him in his resolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was a great division of sentiments in the minds of this assembly; and as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented by some late successes, the resentment of the catholics was no less excited by their fears and losses: But the authority of the king kept every one submissive and silent; and the new assumed prerogative, the supremacy, with whose limit no one was fully acquainted, restrained even the most furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwel presided as vicar-general; and though the catholic party expected, that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great check, they were surprized to find him still maintain equal credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer bishop of Worcester,

^Q 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

^R Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

cester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The opposite party were led by Lee archbishop of York, Stokesley bishop of London, Tonstal of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle. The former party, by their opposition to the pope, seconded the king's ambition and love of power: the latter party, by maintaining the antient theological tenets, were more conformable to his speculative principles: And both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of these motives.

THE church in general was averse to the reformation; and the lower house of convocation framed a list of opinions, in the whole sixty-seven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, some held by the antient Lollards, others by the modern protestants, or Gospellers, as they were sometimes called. These opinions they sent to the upper house to be censured; but in the preamble of their representation, they discovered the servile spirit, by which they were governed. They said, "that they intended not to do or speak any thing which might be unpleasant to the king, whom they acknowledge their supreme head, and whose commands they were resolved to obey; renouncing the pope's usurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguished and abolished; and addressing themselves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within this kingdom^s."

THE convocation came at last, after some debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as compounded a nature as the assembly itself, or rather as the king's system of theology, by which they were resolved entirely to square their principles. They determined the standard of faith to consist in the Scriptures and the three creeds, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian; and this article was a signal victory to the reformers: Auricular confession and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: No mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders,

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as

^s Collier, vol. ii. p. 119.

CHAP. as sacraments; and in this omission the influence of the protestants appeared: the real presence was asserted, conformably to the antient doctrine: The terms of acceptance were established to be the merits of Christ, and the mercy and good pleasure of God, suitably to the new principles.

1536.

So far the two sects seem to have made a fair partition, by sharing alternately the several clauses. In framing the subsequent articles, each of them seems to have thrown in their ingredient. The catholics prevailed in asserting, that the use of images was warranted by Scripture; the protestants, in warning the people against idolatry, and the abuse of these sensible representations. The antient faith was adopted in maintaining the expediency of praying to saints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of saints to any trade, profession, or course of action. The former rites of worship, the use of holy water, and the ceremonies practised on Ash-wednesday, Palm-sunday, Good-friday, and other festivals were still maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of these institutions, were also adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting sin, and by its asserting that their sole merit consisted in promoting pious and devout dispositions in the mind.

BUT the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the most curious jargon, ambiguity, and hesitation, arising from the mixture of opposite tenets. It was to this purpose: " Since according to due order of charity, and divers antient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and since such a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning; all bishops and teachers should instruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the same. But since the place where departed souls are retained, before they reach Paradise, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by Scripture; all such questions are to be submitted to God, to whose mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceased, trusting that he accepteth our prayers for them ^T."

THESE

^T Collier, vol. ii. p. 122, & seq. Fuller. Burnet, vol. i. p. 215.

THESE articles, when framed by the convocation, and CHAP. corrected by the king, were subscribed by every member of that assembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom, could one man be found except the king himself, who had adopted precisely these very doctrines and opinions. For though there be not any contradiction in the tenets here advanced, it had happened in England, as in all other states where factious divisions have place; a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neutrals were to be found; and these consisted only of speculative or whimsical people, of whom two persons could scarcely be brought to an agreement in the same dogmas. The protestants, all of them, carried their opposition to Rome farther than these articles: None of the catholics went so far: And the king, by being able to retain the nation in such a delicate medium, displayed the utmost power of an imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when seconded by a party, is one of the most perilous enterprizes, which any sovereign can attempt, and often proves the most destructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to set the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even stop its career: He could say to it, thus far shalt thou go and no farther: And he made every vote of his parliament and convocation subservient, not only to his interests and passions, but even to his smallest caprices; nay, to his most refined and most scholastic subtilties.

THE concurrence of these two national assemblies served, no doubt, to increase the king's power among the people, and raised him to an authority more absolute, than any prince, in a simple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds, beyond which the most slavish submission cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger, to which all the rest were exposed^U, had bred discontent in the people, and disposed them to a

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revolt.

^U A proposal had formerly been made in the convocation for the abolition of the lesser monasteries; and had been much opposed by bishop Fisher, who was then alive. He told his brethren,

CHAP. revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both men's piety and compassion; and as the antient religion laid hold of the populace by powerful motives, suited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to excite the strongest zeal in its favour^x. Discontents had even reached some of the nobility and gentry, whose ancestors had founded the monasteries, and who placed a vanity in those institutions, as well as reaped some benefit from them, by the provisions, which they afforded them for their younger children. The more superstitious were interested in the fate of their forefathers souls, which, they believed, must now lie, during many ages, in the torments of purgatory, for want of masses to relieve them. It seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the most moderate and reasonable deemed it somewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a course of life by all the laws, human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence. And when it was observed, that the rapacity and bribery of the commissioners, and others employed in visiting the monasteries, intercepted much of the profits resulting from these confiscations, it tended much to increase the general discontent^y.

*Discontents
among the
people.*

BUT the people did not break into open sedition, till the complaints of the secular clergy concurred with those of

thren, that this was fairly shewing the king the way, how he might come at the greater monasteries. "An ax, which wanted a handle, came upon a time into the wood, making his moan to the great trees, that he wanted a handle to work withal, and for that cause he was constrained to sit idle; therefore he made it his request to them, that they would be pleased to grant him one of their small saplings within the wood to make him a handle; who, mistrusting no guile, granted him one of their smaller trees to make him a handle. But now becoming a compleat ax, he fell so to work, within the same wood, that, in process of time, there was neither great nor small trees to be found in the place, where the wood stood. And so, my lords, if you grant the king these smaller monasteries, you do but make him a handle, whereby, at his own pleasure, he may cut down all the cedars within your Lebanon." Dr. Bailie's life of bishop Fisher, p. 108.

^x Strype, vol. i. p. 249.

^y Burnet, vol. i. p. 223.

of the regular. As Cromwel's person was very little acceptable to the ecclesiastics; the authority, which he exercised, being so new, so absolute, so unlimited, inspired them with great disgust and terror. He published, in the king's name, without the consent either of parliament or convocation, an ordinance, by which he retrenched many of the antient holydays; prohibited several superstitions, gainful to the clergy, such as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the parishes to set apart a considerable portion of their revenue for repairs and for the support of exhibitioners and the poor of their parish. The secular priests, finding themselves thus reduced to a grievous servitude, instilled into the people those discontents, which they had long harboured in their own bosoms.

THE first rising was in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was disguised like a mean mechanic, and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above 20,000 men²; but notwithstanding their number, they shewed little disposition of proceeding to extremities against the king, and seemed still overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be supreme head of the church of England; but they complained of suppressing the monasteries, of evil counsellors, of persons, meanly born, raised to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were exposed: And they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of these grievances^A. Henry was little disposed to entertain apprehensions of danger, especially from a low multitude, whom he despised. He sent forces against the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very sharp answer to their petition. There were some gentry, whom the populace had forced to take party with them, and who kept a secret correspondence with Suffolk. They informed him, that resentment against the king's reply was the chief cause, which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder answer would probably dissipate the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march against the rebels; and being so well supported by power, he thought, that, without losing

*Insurrection.**6th of October.*

² Burnet, vol. i. p. 227. Herbert. ^A Herbert, p. 410.

CH A P. losing his dignity, he might now shew them some greater
 XXXI. condescension. He sent a new proclamation, requiring
 1536. them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances
 of pardon. This expedient had its effect: The populace
 were dissipated: Mackrel and some of their leaders fell
 into the king's hands, and were executed: The greater
 part of the multitude retired peaceably to their usual oc-
 cupations: A few of the more obstinate fled into the
 North, where they joined the insurrection, that was raised
 in those parts.

THE Northern rebels, as they were more numerous,
 were also, on other accounts, more formidable than those
 of Lincolnshire; because the people in those parts were
 more accustomed to arms, and because of the near neigh-
 bourhood to Scotland, which might make advantage of
 these disorders. One Aske, a gentleman, had taken the
 command of them; and he possessed the art of govern-
 ing the populace. Their enterprize they called the *Pil-
 grimage of Grace*: Some priests marched before in the
 habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands: In
 their banners was wove a crucifix, with the representation
 of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ^b: They
 wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with
 the name of Jesus wrought in the midst: They all took
 an oath, that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace
 from no other motive, than their love to God, their care
 of the king's person and issue, their desire of purifying the
 nobility, of driving base-born persons from about the king,
 of restoring the church, and of suppressing heresy. Allur-
 ed by these fair pretences, about 40,000 men from the
 counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, and those northern
 provinces, flocked to their standard; and their zeal, no
 less than their numbers, inspired the court with appre-
 hensions.

THE earl of Shrewsbury, moved by his regard for the
 king's service, raised forces, though at first without any
 commission, in order to oppose the rebels. The earl of
 Cumberland repulsed them from his castle of Skipton:
 Sir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough-castle against
 them^c: Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's cousin-
 german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops.
 The earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated
 his

^b Fox, vol. ii. p. 992.

^c Stowe, p. 574. Baker, p. 258.

his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York: They had laid siege to Pomfret-castle, into which the archbishop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themselves. It was soon surrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly favoured the cause, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1536.

THE duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces against the northern rebels; and as he headed the party at court, which supported the antient religion, he was also suspected of bearing some favour to the cause, which he was sent to oppose. His prudent conduct, however, seems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped at Doncaster, together with the earl of Shrewsbury; and as his army was small, scarce exceeding five thousand men, he made choice of a post, where he had a river in front, the ford of which he proposed to defend against the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night, there fell such violent rains as rendered the river utterly unpassable; and Norfolk very wisely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into a treaty with them. In order to open a door for negociation, he sent them an herald; whom Aske, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himself sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop of York on one hand, and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen should be dispatched to the king with proposals from the rebels; and Henry protracted giving an answer, and allured them with hopes of entire satisfaction, in expectation that necessity would soon oblige them to disperse themselves. Being informed, that his artifice had, in a great measure, succeeded, he required them instantly to lay down their arms and submit to mercy; promising a pardon to all, except six whom he named, and four whom he reserved to himself the power of naming. But though the greatest part of the rebels had gone home for want of subsistence, they had entered into the most solemn engagements to return to their standards, in case the king's answer should not prove satisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, soon found himself in the same difficulty as before; and he opened again a negociation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to send three hundred persons to Doncaster, with proposals for an accommodation; and he hoped to be able, by
intrigue

CHAP. intrigue and separate interests, to throw dissention among
 XXXI. so great a number. Aske himself had proposed to be one

1536. of the deputies, and he required a hostage for his security:
 But the king, when consulted, replied, that he knew no gentlemen or other, whom he esteemed so little as to put him in pledge for such a villain. The demands of the rebels were so exorbitant, that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the contest by force of arms. They were as formidable as ever both by their numbers and spirit; and notwithstanding a small river, which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reason to dread the effects of their fury. But while they were preparing to pass the ford, rain fell a second time in such abundance, as made it impracticable for them to execute their design; and the populace, partly reduced to necessity by want of provisions, partly struck with superstition at being thus again disappointed by the same accident, suddenly dispersed themselves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the dispersion, by the promise of a general amnesty; and the king ratified this act of clemency.

9th of Dec. He published, however, a manifesto against the rebels, and an answer to their complaints; where he employed a very lofty style, suited to so haughty a monarch. He told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours: "And we," he added, "with our whole council, think it right strange, that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council."

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to go into the northern parts, in order to exact a general submission. Lord Darcy, as well as Aske, was sent for to court; and the former, upon his refusal or delay to appear, was thrown into prison. Every place was full of jealousy and complaints. A new insurrection broke out, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; and the rebels besieged Carlisle with 8000 men. Being repulsed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and having made prisoners of all their officers, except Musgrave, who escaped, he instantly put them to death by martial law,

to

to the number of seventy persons. An attempt made by Sir Francis Bigot and Halam to surprize Hull, met with no better success; and several other risings were suppressed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by these multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon, which he had granted; and from a movement of his usual violence, he made the innocent suffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, leader of the first insurrection, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into prison; and most of them were condemned and executed. Lord Hussey was found guilty as an accomplice in the insurrection of Lincolnshire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed, for his justification, to a long life, passed in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution, he accused Norfolk of having secretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either sensible of that nobleman's great services and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of such extensive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now satiated with punishing the rebels, he published anew a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered^D; and he erected by patent a court of justice at York, for deciding lawsuits to the northern counties: A demand which had been made by the rebels.

SOON after this prosperous success, an event happened, which crowned Henry's joy, the birth of a son, who was baptized under the name of Edward. Yet was not this happiness without alloy: The queen died two days after. But a son had so long been ardently longed for by Henry, and was now become so necessary, in order to prevent disputes with regard to the succession, after the successive illegitimation of the two princesses, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expressed great satisfaction on the occasion. The prince, not six days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother,

^D Herbert, p. 428.^E Strype, vol. ii. p. 5.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1537.

Oct. 12.
Birth of
Prince Ed-
ward, and
death of
queen Jane

CHAP. ther, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raised to the
 XXXI. dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz-Williams,
 high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; Sir Wil-
 1538. liam Paulet, lord St. John; Sir John Ruffel, lord Ruffel.

THE suppression of the rebellion and the birth of a son, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, encreased his consideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various success, and without any decisive event, between Charles and Francis; and though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without necessity, either hazard or expence in his behalf. A truce, concluded about this time between these potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety on account of his ally, and re-established the tranquillity of Europe.

HENRY continued very desirous of cementing an union with the German protestants; and for that purpose, he sent Christopher Mount to a congress which they held at Brunswick; but that minister made no great progress in his negotiations. The princes wished to know, what were the articles in their confession which Henry disliked; and they sent new ambassadors to him, who had orders both to negotiate and to dispute. They endeavoured to convince the king, that he was guilty of a mistake, in administering the eucharist in one kind only, in allowing of private masses, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy ^A. Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in these particulars; and was displeased that they should pretend to prescribe rules to so great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and syllogisms enow to defend his cause; and he dismissed the ambassadors without coming to a conclusion. Jealous also lest his own subjects should become such theologians as to question his tenets, he used great precaution in publishing that translation of the scripture, which was finished this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be deposited in some parish churches, where it was fixed by a chain: And he took care to inform the people by proclamation, " That this " indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his " goodness

^A Collier, vol. ii. p. 145. from the Cott. Lib. Cleopatra, E. 5. fol. 173.

“goodness and his liberality to them; who therefore
 “should use it moderately, for the increase of virtue,
 “not of strife: And he ordered that no man should read
 “the bible aloud, so as to disturb the priest, while he
 “sang mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places,
 “without advice from the learned.” In this measure,
 as in the rest, he still halted half way between the catho-
 lics and protestants.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1538.

THERE was only one particular, in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was here impelled by his avarice, or more properly speaking, his rapacity, occasioned by profuseness: This measure was the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favourable for that great enterprize; while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority; and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the king's resentment was farther incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince possessed of such exorbitant power, and seconding the present humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger, to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces and even extreme violence were employed; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court, with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effectuated. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success, that, in less than two years, the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

IN several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction.

There

^B Burnet, vol. i. p. 328.

C H A P. There appeared also great difference in the case of nuns
XXXI. and friars; and the one institution might be laudable,
 1538. while the other was exposed to much blame. The males
 of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment, suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of a settlement in the married state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want, which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought, that these antient establishments would be the sooner forgot, if no remains of them, of any kind, were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

THE better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were published of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques also, and superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion with great triumph the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the virgin shewn in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women; some reliques, an excellent preventative against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no peculiar nor violent reproach on the catholic religion.

THERE were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, had been shewn, during several ages, the blood of Christ, brought
 from

from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration, with which such a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relique; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was discovered. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: They put it into a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent chrystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial ^c.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1538.

A MIRACULOUS crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's cross, and shewed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was also brought to London, and cut to pieces: And by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forest ^d, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commissioners refused to release the pawn, people made themselves very merry with the poor creditor, on account of his pledge.

BUT of all the instruments of antient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence, which he had made for the apostolic see; and on that account also, the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages toward his tomb, and numberless were

^c Herbert, p. 431. 432. Stowe, p. 575. ^d Goodwin's Annals. Stowe, p. 575. Herbert. Baker, p. 286.

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were the miracles, which, they pretended, his reliques wrought on his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holyday: Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which lasted fifteen days: Plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that town the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and six-pence; at the Virgin's sixty-three pounds five shillings and six-pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and three pence. But next year, the disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got for his share nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three-pence^B. Lewis the seventh of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, which was esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is obvious, how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how much contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine, dedicated to St. Thomas: He made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; and his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air.

ON the whole, the king, at different times, suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries: Of which twenty-eight had abbots, that enjoyed a seat in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels: A hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds^F.

It

^B Burnet, vol. i. p. 224.

^F Lord Herbert, Camden, Speed.

It is worthy of observation, that, all the lands and possessions and revenue of England had, a little before this period, been rated at three millions a year; so that the revenues of the monasteries did not really much exceed the twentieth part of the national income: A sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents, were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired ^G.

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GREAT murmurs were every where excited against these violences; and men much questioned, whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told, that the king would never henceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government ^H. While such topics were employed to pacify the populace, the king took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures ^I: He either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities, that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding; which happened to gratify his palate ^K. He also settled salaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: He erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which the last five subsist at this day: And by all these means of expence and dissipation, the profit, which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands, fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years ere it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete beforehand most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore

^G See note at the end of the volume. ^H Coke's 4th Inst. fol. 44. ^I Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 800. ^K Fuller.

CHAP. bore not, in these respects, any proportion to those of XXXI. the lesser.

1538. BESIDE the lands, possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes, annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means came into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regard as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues, which much exceeded the regular and stated expence of the house. We read of the abbey of Chertsey in Surrey which possessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: That of Furness, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained but thirty monks^L. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monasteries lived in a very hospitable manner; and besides the poor, maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands, to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

It is easy to imagine the indignation, with which the intelligence of all these violences was received at Rome; and how much the ecclesiastics of that court, who had so long kept the world in subjection by big sounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric against the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was provoked at last to publish the bull, which had been passed against that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. Libels were dispersed, in which he was anew compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given on their side. He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themselves respected; was at open enmity with heaven; and had engaged in professed hostility with the whole host of saints and

^L Burnet, vol. i. p. 237.

and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his resemblance to the emperor Julian, whom, it was said, he imitated in his apostacy and learning, though he fell short of him in his morals. Henry could distinguish in many of these libels the stile and animosity of his kinsman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage, by every possible expedient, on that famous cardinal.

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REGINALD DE LA POLE or Reginald Pole, was descended of the royal family, being fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He discovered in very early youth evident symptoms of that fine genius, and generous disposition, by which, during his whole life, he was so much distinguished; and Henry having conceived great friendship for him, proposed to raise him to the highest ecclesiastical dignities; and as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanry of Exeter^M, in order to support him in the expences of his education. Pole was carrying on his studies in Paris, at the time when the king solicited the suffrages of that university in favour of his divorce; but though applied to by the English agent, he declined taking any part in that affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce friendship with a person, whose virtues and talents, he hoped, would prove useful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him still to possess his deanry, and gave him permission to finish his studies at Padua: He even paid him some court, in order to bring him into his measures; and wrote to him, while in that university, desiring him to give his opinion freely, with regard to the measures taken in England, for abolishing the papal authority. Pole had now entered into an intimate friendship with whatever was eminent for dignity or merit in Italy; Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taste and learning; and he was moved by these connections, as well as by religious zeal, to forget, in some respect, the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor, and his sovereign. He replied, by writing a treatise of *the unity of the church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the

Cardinal
Pole.

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M

emperor

^M Goodwin's Annals.

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1538. resentment; and sent a message to Pole, desiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain passages of his book, which he found somewhat obscure and difficult: Pole was on his guard against this insidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was extremely and universally beloved.

THE pope and emperor thought themselves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who, in support of their cause, had sacrificed all his pretensions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and though he took no higher orders than those of a deacon, he was sent legate into Flanders about the year 1536.^N Henry was sensible, that Pole's chief intention in choosing that employment, was to foment the mutinous disposition of the English catholics; and he therefore remonstrated in such a vigorous manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that she dismissed the legate, without allowing him to exercise his commission. The enmity, which he bore Pole, was now open, as well as violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther measures in his intrigues against Henry. He is even suspected of having aspired to the crown, by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day alarmed by informations, which he received, of the correspondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conspiracy with him; Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Carew, master of horse, and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. These persons were indicted, and tried, and convicted, before lord Audley, who presided in the trial, as high steward. They were all executed, except Sir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having first carried to the king secret intelligence of the conspiracy. We know little of the justice or iniquity of the sentence pronounced against these men: We only know, that the condemnation of a man, who was, at that time, prosecuted by the court

^N Herbert.

court, forms no presumption of his guilt: though as no CHAP.
 historian of credit mentions, in the present case, any XXXI.
 complaints occasioned by these trials, we may presume
 that sufficient evidence was produced against the marquis 1538.
 of Exeter and his associates^o.

• Herbert in Kennet, p. 216.

M 2

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C H A P. XXXII.

Disputation with Lambert — A Parliament — Law of the six articles — Proclamations made equal to laws — Settlement of the succession — King's projects of marriage — He marries Anne of Cleves — He dislikes her — A Parliament — Fall of Cromwel — His execution — King's divorce from Anne of Cleves — His marriage with Catherine Howard — State of affairs in Scotland — Discovery of the queen's dissolute life — A Parliament — Ecclesiastical affairs.

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THE rough hand of Henry seemed well adapted for rending asunder those bands, by which the antient superstition had fastened itself on the kingdom; and though, after renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, most of the political ends of a reformation were already attained, few people expected, that he would stop at those innovations. The spirit of opposition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmost extremity against the church of Rome; and lead him to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, that a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as being summoned by the pope, and lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpose; and he had prescribed to them many other alterations in antient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this course; and while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her insinuations and address, been very successful in his endeavours. After her death, Gardiner, who was returned from his embassy to France, kept the king more in suspense; and by feigning an unlimited submission to his will, he was frequently able to guide him to his own purposes. Fox, bishop of Hereford, had supported Cranmer in his schemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto seemed a furious

furious enemy to the see of Rome, was determined to sacrifice every thing to present interest, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner and the partizans of the old religion. Gardiner himself, it was believed, had secretly entered into measures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and in concert with these powers, he endeavoured to preserve, as much as possible, the antient faith and worship.

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HENRY was so much governed by passion, that nothing could have retarded his animosity and opposition against Rome, but some other passion, which stopped his career, and raised him new subjects of animosity. Though he had gradually, since he came to years of maturity, been changing the tenets of that theological system, in which he had been educated, he was equally positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him, as if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken: And though he stood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had so enflamed his tyrannical arrogance, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his own particular standard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point, on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy, happened to be the real presence; that very doctrine, in which, among the numberless victories of superstition over common sense, her triumph is the most signal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and detestable; and nothing, he thought, would be more honourable for him, than, while he broke off all connections with the Roman pontiff, to maintain, in this essential article, the purity of the catholic faith.

THERE was one Lambert^p, a school-master in London, who had been questioned and confined for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the changing of councils at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barons, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained,

^p Fox, vol. ii. p. 396.

CHAP. tained, that, though the substance of bread and wine
 XXXII. remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of
 Christ were there also, and were, in a certain mysteri-
 1538. ous manner, incorporated with the material elements.

By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he was determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because, in their common departure from the antient faith, he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to accuse Lambert to Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinions might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy, established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprized, when, instead of compliance, he ventured to appeal to the king.

THE king, not displeased with an opportunity, when he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal; and was determined to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magistrate with the disputant. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with this school-master: Scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience: Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty: The prelates were placed on his right hand: The temporal peers on his left. The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops: The courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers: And in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and he was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

THE bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: That though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a bee-hive; had remedied the idolatrous worship of images; had published the bible in English,

lish, for the instruction of all his subjects; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it: And that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an auditory, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but if he still persevered obstinately in them, he must expect the most condign punishment^a.

AFTER this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and when Lambert began his discourse with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with arguments, drawn from Scripture and the schoolmen: The audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition: Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics: Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer: Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal: Six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley. And the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he was convinced? and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he was resolved to live or die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: The king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, read the sentence against him^a.

LAMBERT,

^a Goodwin's Annals.

^a Collier, in his ecclesiastical history, vol. II. p. 152, has preserved an account which Cromwell gave of this conference, in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyat, the king's ambassador in Germany. "The king's majesty," says Cromwell, "for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall, and there presided at the disputation, process and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was
" burned.

CHAP. LAMBERT, whose vanity had probably incited him
 XXXII. the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this
 1538. public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of that
 punishment, to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: He was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his torments, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberds, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired ^T.

SOME few days before this execution, four Dutch anabaptists, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's Cross; and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman, of the same sect and country, were burned in Smithfield ^U.

1539. IT was the unhappy situation of the English, during that age, that when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the satisfaction of expecting redress from parliament: On the contrary, they had reason to dread each meeting of that assembly, and were then sure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with some circumstance, which the arbitrary prince and his ministers had not hitherto devised, or did not think proper,

“ burned the 20th of November. It was a wonder to see how
 “ princely, with how excellent gravity, and ineffimable majesty
 “ his highness exercised there the very office of supreme head
 “ of the church of England. How benignly his grace essayed
 “ to convert the miserable man: How strong and manifest
 “ reasons his highness alledged against him. I wish the princes
 “ and potentates of Christendom to have had meet place to
 “ have seen it. Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled
 “ at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reput-
 “ ed him no otherwise after the same, than in a manner the
 “ mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christen-
 “ dom.” It was by such flatteries, that Henry was engaged to
 make his sentiments the standard of all mankind; and was deter-
 mined to enforce, by the severest penalties, his *strong* and
manifest reasons for transubstantiation.

^T Fox's acts and monuments, p. 427. Burnet.
 p. 556.

^U Stowe.

proper, of themselves, to carry into execution. This subject servility never more eminently appeared than in a new parliament, which the king now assembled, and which, if he had been so pleased, might have been the last that ever sat in England. But he found them too useful instruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total exclusion.

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*A parliament, 28th
Apr.*

THE chancellor, opened the parliament by informing the house of Lords, that it was his majesty's earnest desire, to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinions with regard to religion; and as this enterprize was, he owned, difficult and important, he desired them to chuse a committee from among themselves, who might frame certain articles, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwel, now created a peer, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The house might have seen what a hopeful task they were undertaking: This small committee itself was agitated with such diversity of opinions, that it could come to no conclusion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the house, that, since there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith, proposed to be established, should be reduced to six; and a new committee be appointed to frame an act with regard to them. As this peer was understood to speak the king's mind, his motion was immediately complied with; and, after a short prorogation, the bill of the *six articles*, or the bloody bill, as the protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and having passed the two houses, had the king's assent affixed to it.

IN this law, the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article, with regard to the real presence, subjected the person to death by fire, and to the same forfeiture as in cases of treason; and admitted not the privilege of abjuring: An unheard of severity, and unknown to the inquisition itself. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was punishable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure: An obstinate,

*Law of
the six ar-
ticles.*

CHAP. nate adherence to error, or a relapse, was adjudged to be
 XXXII. felony, and punishable with death. The marriage of
 priests was subjected to the same punishment. Their
 1539. commerce with women was, for the first offence, forfei-
 ture and imprisonment; for the second, death. Abstain-
 ing from confession, and from receiving the eucharist at
 the accustomed times, subjected the person to fine, and
 to imprisonment during the king's pleasure; and if the
 criminal persevered after conviction, he was punishable by
 death and forfeiture, as in cases of felony ^c. Commis-
 sioners were to be appointed by the king, for enquiring in-
 to these heresies and irregular practices, and the criminals
 were to be tried by a jury.

THE king, in framing this law, had laid his oppressive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reason to complain, that the friars and nuns, though dismissed their convent, should be capriciously restrained to the practice of celibacy ^d: But as the protestants were chiefly exposed to the severity of the act, the misery of adversaries, according to the usual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents of the antient religion, as their own prosperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppose this bill in the house; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance ^e. Henry was accustomed to Cranmer's freedom and sincerity; and being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unusual indulgence in that particular, and never allowed even a whisper against him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife, the niece of Oslander, a famous divine of Nuremburg ^f; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, shewed him his former countenance and

^c 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

^d There is a story, that the duke of Norfolk, meeting, soon after this act was passed, one of his chaplains, who was suspected of favouring the reformation, said to him, "Now, Sir, what think you of the law to hinder priests from having wives?" "Yes, my lord," replies the chaplain, "you have done that; but I will answer for it, you cannot hinder men's wives from having priests."

^e Burnet, vol. i. p. 249, 270. Fox, vol. ii. p. 1037.

^f Herbert in Kennet, p. 219.

and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their bishoprics, on account of this law, and were committed to prison. C H A P. XXXII.

THE parliament having thus resigned all their ecclesiastical liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and without scruple or deliberation they made by one act a total subversion of the English constitution. 1539.
Proclamations made equal to laws.

They gave to the king's proclamations the same force as to a statute enacted by parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of the regal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly set forth several proclamations, which forward persons had wilfully contemned, not considering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licence might encourage offenders not only to disobey the laws of Almighty God, but also to dishonour the king's most royal majesty, *who may full ill bear it*; that sudden emergencies often occur, which require speedy remedies, and cannot await the slow assembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered, by his authority, derived from God, to consult the public good on these occasions, yet the opposition of refractory subjects might push him to extremity and violence: For these reasons, the parliament, that they might remove all occasion of doubt, ascertained by a statute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majesty, with the advice of his council, to set forth proclamations, enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he shall think proper: And these proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.

WHAT shews either a stupid or a wilful blindness of parliament is, that they pretended, even after this statute, to maintain some limitations in the government; and they enacted, that no proclamation should deprive any person of his lawful possessions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchises; nor yet infringe any common law or laudible custom of the realm. They considered not, that no penalty could be inflicted on the disobedience of proclamations, without invading some liberty or property of the subject; and that the power of enacting new laws, joined to the dispensing power, then exercised by the crown, amounted to a full legislative authority. It is true, the king's

CHAP. kings of England had been always accustomed, from their
 XXXII. own authority, to issue proclamations, and exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a
 1539. strong symptom of absolute government: But still there was a difference between a power, which was exercised on a particular emergence, and which must be justified by the present expediency or necessity; and an authority conferred by a positive statute, which could no longer admit of controul or limitation.

COULD any act be more opposite to the spirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the same parliament. They passed attainders, not only against the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Hussey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but also against some persons, of the highest quality, who had never been accused, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred, which Henry bore to cardinal Pole, had extended itself to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the countess of Salisbury, had, on that account, become extremely obnoxious to him. She was also accused of having employed her authority with her tenants, to hinder them from perusing the new translation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which, 'tis said, were found at Coudray, her country seat; of having kept a correspondence with her son, the cardinal: But Henry discovered, either that these offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be subjected to such severe punishment as he desired to inflict upon her. He resolved, therefore, to proceed in a more summary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpose, he sent Cromwel, who was but too obsequious to his will, to demand of the judges, whether the parliament could attain a person, who was forth-coming, without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them^H? The judges replied, that it was a dangerous question; and that the high court of parliament ought to give example to inferior courts, of proceeding according to justice. No inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being pressed to give a more explicit answer, they replied, that, if any person were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never after be brought in question, but must remain good in law.

^H Coke's 4th inst. p. 37, 38.

law. Henry learned by this decision, that such a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and this being all he was anxious to know, he resolved to employ it against the countess of Salisbury. Cromwel shewed to the house of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Christ, the symbol chosen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the countess's house¹. No other proof seems to have been produced, in order to ascertain her guilt: The parliament, without farther enquiry, passed a bill of attainder against her; and they involved in the same bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. These two gentlemen were executed: The marchioness was pardoned, and survived the king; the countess received a reprieve.

THE only beneficial act, passed this session, was that by which the parliament confirmed the surrender of the monasteries; and yet even this act contains much falsehood, much tyranny, and were it not that all private rights must submit to public interest, much injustice and iniquity. The scheme of engaging the abbots to make a surrender of their monasteries had been conducted, as may easily be imagined, with many invidious circumstances: Arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive, that could work on the frailty of human nature, had been set before them; and it was with great difficulty that these dignified conventuals were brought to a confession, which most of them regarded as destructive of their interests, as well as sacrilegious and criminal in itself^k. Three abbots had shewn more constancy than the rest, the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glasterbury; and in order to punish them for their opposition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treason; they had perished by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited^l. Besides, though none of these violences had had place, the king knew, that a surrender made by men, who were only tenants for life, would

¹ Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 652.

^k Collier, vol. ii. p. 158.

& seq. ^l 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

CHAP. would not bear examination; and he was therefore resolved to make all sure by his usual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act, the parliament

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asserts, that all the surrenders, made by the abbots, had been, "without constraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of common law." And in consequence, the parliament confirms the surrenders, and secures the property of the abbey lands to the king and his successors for ever^M. It is remarkable, that all the mitred abbots still sat in the house of peers; and none of them made any protestation against this statute.

IN this session, the rank of all the great officers of state was fixed: Cromwel, as vicegerent, had the precedence assigned him above all of them. It was thought singular, that a blacksmith's son, for he was no other, should have place next the royal family; and that a man possessed of no manner of literature, should be at the head of the church.

As soon as the act of the six articles had passed, the catholics were extremely vigilant to inform against offenders; and no less than five hundred persons were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwel, who had not had interest enough to prevent that act, was able, for the present, to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk, and lord chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents; and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to give so deep a wound to the reformers, than he granted a general permission, for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family: A concession regarded by that party, as a most important victory.

*Henry's
projects of
marriage.*

BUT as Henry was observed to be much governed by his wives, while he retained his fondness for them, the final prevalence of either party, seemed to depend much on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He first cast his eye on the dutchess-dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made proposals for that alliance. But meeting with difficulties in this design, he was carried,

by

^M 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

by his friendship for Francis, rather to think of a French princess. He demanded the dutchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, a prince of the house of Lorraine; but Francis told him that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a repulse: he had set his heart extremely on the match: The information, which he had received, of the dutchess's accomplishments and beauty, had prepossessed him in her favour; and having privately sent over Meautys to examine her person, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts brought him, served farther to inflame his desires. He learned that she was big made; and he thought her, on that account, the more proper match for him, who was now become somewhat corpulent. The pleasure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to the prosecution of this match; and he insisted, that Francis should give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though sensible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his interests, would not affront his friend and ally; and to prevent farther solicitations, he immediately sent the princess to Scotland. Not to shock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as the king was informed, that James had formerly rejected this princess, he would not hear any farther of such a proposal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger sisters of the queen of Scots; and he assured him, that they were nowise inferior either in merit or size to their elder sister, and that one of them was even superior in beauty. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives, as if his heart had been really susceptible of a delicate passion; and he was unwilling to trust any relations or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He proposed to Francis, that they should have a conference at Calais on pretence of business; and that that monarch should bring along with him the two princesses of Guise, together with the finest ladies of quality in France, that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant spirit of Francis was shocked with the proposal; and he was impressed with too much regard, he said, for the fair sex,

to

CHAP. to carry ladies of the first quality, like geldings, to a
 XXXII. market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour
 of the merchant^o. Henry would hearken to none of
 1539. these niceties, but still insisted on his proposal; which,
 however, notwithstanding Francis's earnest desire of con-
 tinuing a good correspondence with him, was finally
 rejected.

*He mar-
 ries Anne
 of Cleves.*

THE king began then to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and as the princess of the Smalcaldic league were extremely disgusted against the emperor on account of his persecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of their families, to renew an amity, which he regarded as so advantageous to him. Cromwel joyfully seconded this intention; and proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, and whose sister, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant alliance. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holben, determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiations, the marriage, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of Saxony, was at last concluded; and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester, and got sight of her. He found her big, indeed, and tall, as he could wish; but utterly devoid both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and representations, which he had received: He swore she was a great Flanders-mare; and declared, that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse, when he found, that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and much lamented his hard fate to Cromwel, as well as to lord Russel, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Anthony Denny. This last gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him, that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private persons, choose for themselves; but must receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

IT

^o Le Grand, vol. iii. p. 638.

1539.

It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors, whether the marriage could not yet be broken; and the princess be sent back to her own country. Henry's situation seemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce, concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good understanding was thought to have taken place between these rival monarchs; and such marks of union appeared, as gave great jealousy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare, to that degree, among great princes. An insurrection had been raised in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and seemed to threaten the most dangerous consequences. Charles, who resided at that time in Spain, resolved to go in person to Flanders, in order to appease those disorders; but he found great difficulties in contriving the manner of his passage thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious: The voyage through the Channel dangerous, by reason of the English naval power: He asked Francis's permission to pass through his dominions; and he entrusted himself into the hands of a rival, whom he had so mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris, with great magnificence and courtesy; and though prompted both by revenge and interest, as well as by the advice of his mistress and favourites, to make advantage of the present opportunity, he conducted the emperor safely out of his dominions; and would not so much as speak to him of business during his abode in France, lest his demands should bear the air of violence upon his royal guest.

HENRY, who was informed of all these particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between these great princes; and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England^r. An alliance with the German princes seemed now, more than ever, requisite for his interest and safety; and he knew, that, if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwel, that, since matters had gone so

1540.
6th Jan.

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far,

^r Stowe, p. 5. 579.

CHAP. far, he must put his neck into the yoke. Cromwel, who
 XXXII. knew how much his own interests were concerned in this
 1540. affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next
 morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his
 spouse any better. The king told him, that he hated her
 worse than ever; and that her person was more loath-
 some on a near approach: He was resolved never to med-
 dle with her; and even suspected her not to be a true
 maid: A point, about which he entertained an extreme
 delicacy. He continued however to be civil to Anne;
 he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Crom-
 wel; but though he exerted this command over his tem-
 per, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready
 to burst out on the first opportunity.

12th Apr.
*A parlia-
 ment.*

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of
 the abbots was now allowed a place in the house of
 peers. The king, by the mouth of the chancellor,
 complained to the parliament of the great diversity of
 religions, which still prevailed among his subjects: A
 grievance, he affirmed, which ought the less to be en-
 dured; because the Scriptures were now published in
 England, and ought universally to be the standard of be-
 lief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he said,
 some bishops and divines to draw up a list of tenets, to
 which his people were to assent; and he was determined,
 that Christ, the doctrine of Christ, and the truth should
 have the victory. The king seems to have expected
 more effect in ascertaining truth, from this new book of
 his doctors, than had ensued from the publication of the
 Scriptures. Cromwel, as vicar-general, made also in
 the king's name a speech to the upper house: and the
 peers, in return, bestowed such flattery on him, that they
 said he was worthy, by his desert, to be vicar-general of
 the universe. That minister seemed to be no less in his
 master's good graces: He received, soon after the sitting
 of the parliament, the title of earl of Essex, and was
 installed knight of the garter.

THERE remained only one religious order in England;
 the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or the knights of
 Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly
 ecclesiastical, partly military, had, by their valour, done
 great service to Christendom; and had very much retard-
 ed, at Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid pro-
 gress of the barbarians. During the general surrender of
 the

the religious houses in England, they had exerted their spirit; and had obstinately refused to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no society that professed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourse to the parliament for the dissolution of this order. Their revenues were large; and formed an addition nowise contemptible to the many acquisitions, which the king had already made. But he had very ill husbanded the great revenue obtained by the plunder of the church: His profuse generosity dissipated faster than his rapacity could supply; and the parliament was surprized this session to find a new demand made upon them of four tenths and a subsidy of one shilling in the pound during two years: So ill were the people's expectations answered, that the crown was never more to require any supply from the people. The commons, though lavish of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow subjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty that that grant could be obtained by this absolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four shillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for these grants was the great expence, which Henry had been put to for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the sea-coast, and in equipping a navy. As he had at present no ally on the continent, in whom he reposed much confidence, he relied only on his domestic strength, and was on that account obliged to be more expensive in his preparations against the dangers of an invasion.

THE king's favour to Cromwel, and his acquiescence in the marriage of Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: His aversion to the queen secretly increased every day; and having at last broken all restraint, it prompted him at once to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him, and to involve his minister in ruin, who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwel was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man, who, being of such base extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown: Besides enjoying that commission, which gave him a high, and almost absolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy seal, chamberlain, and master of the wards: He

CH A P. had also obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which
 XXXII. had ever been conferred only on men of illustrious families, and which seemed to be profaned by its being communicated to so mean a person. The people were averse to him, as the supposed author of the violences on the monasteries; establishments, which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion: The protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour; and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found, that great clamours had on all hands arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwel the load of public hatred; and he hoped, by making so easy a sacrifice, to regain the affections of his subjects.

1540.

BUT there was another cause, which suddenly set all these motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the ministry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and being determined to gratify this new passion, he could find no other expedient, but by procuring a divorce from his present consort, to raise Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwel, made the same use of her insinuations to ruin this minister, that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's against Wolsey: And when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commission from the king, to arrest Cromwel at the council-board on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the tower. Immediately after, a bill of attainder was framed against him; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a man, whom, a few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The house of commons passed the bill, though not without some opposition. Cromwel was accused of heresy and treason; but the instances of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, or even absolutely ridiculous^A. The only circumstances of his conduct, by which he seems to have merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the king's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous

^A Burnet, vol. i. p. 278.

quitous bills, in the former session, against the countess of Salisbury and others. CHAP. XXXII.

CROMWEL endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications; but all to no purpose: It was not the practice of that prince to ruin his ministers and favourites by halves; and though the unhappy prisoner wrote once in so moving a strain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himself against all movements of pity, and refused his pardon. The conclusion of Cromwel's letter ran in these words. "I, a most woful

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"prisoner, am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highness's most miserable prisoner and poor slave, Thomas Cromwel." And a little below, "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

When brought to the place of execution, he avoided all earnest protestations of his innocence, and all complaints against the sentence pronounced upon him. He knew, that Henry would resent on his son these symptoms of opposition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, industry, and ability; worthy of a better master and of a better fate. Though raised to the summit of power from a very low origin, he betrayed no insolence or contempt of his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations, which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had served as a private sentinel in the Italian wars; where he received some good offices from a Lucquese merchant, who had entirely forgot his person, as well as the service, which he had rendered him. Cromwel, in his grandeur, happened, at London, to cast his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty, by misfortunes. He immediately sent for him, put him in mind of their antient friendship, and by his grateful assistance, reinstated him in his former prosperous circumstances.

28th July.
His execution.

THE measures for divorcing the king from Anne of Cleves, were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwel. The house of peers, in conjunction

King's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

^a Burnet, vol. i. p. 281, 282.

^c Ibid. vol. i. p. 172.

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conjunction with the commons, applied to him by petition, desiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had been formerly contracted by her father to the duke of Lorrain; but she, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by the consent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this contract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reasons more, which may seem a little extraordinary; that, when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent, and that he had not thought proper to consummate the marriage. The convocation was satisfied with these reasons, and solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen: The parliament ratified the decision of the clergy^Y; and the sentence was soon after notified to that princefs.

ANNE was blest with a happy insensibility of temper, even in the points which the most nearly affect her sex; and the king's aversion towards her, as well as his prosecution of the divorce, had never given her the least uneasiness. She willingly hearkened to terms of composition with him; and when he offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds a year upon her; she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce^Z. She even wrote to her brother, (for her father was dead) that she had been very well used in England, and desired him to live on good terms with the king. The only instance of pride which she betrayed was, that she refused to return into her

^Y To shew how much Henry sported with common sense; how servilely the parliament followed all his caprices; and how much both of them were lost to all sentiment of shame; an act was passed this session, declaring, that a precontract should be no ground of annulling a marriage; as if that pretext had not been made use of both in the case of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves. But the king's intention in this law is said to be a design of restoring the princefs Elizabeth to her right of legitimacy; and it was his character never to look farther than the present object, without regarding the inconsistency of his conduct. The parliament made it high treason to deny the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Herbert.

^Z Herbert, p. 458, 459.

her own country after the affront which she had received ; CHAP.
and she lived and died in England. XXXII.

1540.

NOTWITHSTANDING Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldness between the king and the German princes; but as the situation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their resentment. The close intimacy, which had taken place between Francis and Charles, had subsisted during a very short time: The dissimilarity of their characters soon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealousy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that satisfaction, which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make some very dangerous confidences to that interested monarch; and now having lost all suspicion of his rival, he hoped the emperor and he, supporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his guest the state of his negotiations with sultan Solymán and the Venetians: He also laid open the solicitations, which he had received from the court of England, to enter into a confederacy against him^m. Charles had no sooner reached his own dominions, than he shewed himself unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He flatly refused to execute his promise, and put the duke of Orleans in possession of the Milanese: He informed Solymán and the senate of Venice of the treatment, which they had received from their ally: And he took care that Henry should not be ignorant how willingly Francis had abandoned his antient friend, to whom he owed such important obligations, and had sacrificed him to a new confederate: He even poisoned and misrepresented many things, which the unsuspecting heart of the French monarch had disclosed to him. Had Henry possessed true judgment and generosity, this incident alone had been sufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendship of Francis, who had so unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor: And as Charles invited him to a renewal of antient amity, he willingly accepted the offer; and thinking himself secure in this alliance, he neglected

^m Pere Daniel, Du Tillet.

CHAP. neglected the friendship both of France and of the German princes.

1540.

8th Aug.
His marriage with
Catherine
Howard.

THE new turn, which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs, was extremely agreeable to his catholic subjects; and as it had perhaps contributed, among other reasons, to the ruin of Cromwel, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was also regarded as a very favourable incident to their cause; and the subsequent events corresponded perfectly to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants; and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cause of Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill, which passed in parliament, without trial, he was condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He discussed theological questions even at the stake; and as the dispute between him and the sheriff, turned upon the invocation of saints, he said, that he doubted whether the saints could pray for us; but if they could, he hoped in half an hour, to be praying for the sheriff and all the spectators. He next entreated the sheriff to carry to the king his dying requests, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch, who had sent him to the stake. The purport of his requests was, that Henry, besides repressing superstitious ceremonies, should be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common swearing ^H.

WHILE Henry was exerting this violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged ^I. The king even displayed, in an ostentatious manner, this tyrannical equity and impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection, and infused terror into every breast. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic,

^H Burnet, vol. i. p. 298. Fox. ^I Fox, vol. ii. p. 529.

tholic, who was also executed for his religion. These C H A P.
 catholics were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, who de- XXXII.
 clared, that the most grievous part of their punishment
 was the being coupled to such heretical miscreants as
 suffered with them ^K. 1541.

THOUGH the spirit of the English seemed to be totally
 sunk under the despotic power of Henry, there appeared
 some symptoms of discontent: An inconsiderable insur-
 rection broke out in Yorkshire, headed by Sir John Ne-
 vil; but it was soon suppressed, and Nevil, with other
 ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were supposed to
 have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole;
 and the king was instantly determined to make the coun-
 tesses of Salisbury, who already lay under sentence of death,
 suffer for her son's offences. He ordered her to be car-
 ried to the place of execution; and this venerable matron 27 May.
 maintained still, in these distressful circumstances, the
 spirit of that long race of monarchs, from whom she was
 descended ^L. She refused to lay her head on the block,
 or submit to a sentence where she had received no trial.
 She told the executioner, that, if he would have her head
 he must win it the best way he could: And thus shaking
 her venerable grey locks, she ran about the scaffold; and
 the executioner followed her with his axe, aiming many
 fruitless blows at her neck, before he was able to give her
 the fatal stroke. Thus perished the last of the line of
 Plantagenet, which, with great glory, but still greater
 crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the
 space of three hundred years. The lord Leonard Grey,
 a man who had formerly rendered service to the crown,
 was also beheaded for treason, soon after the countess of
 Salisbury. We know little of the grounds of his prose-
 cution.

THE insurrection in the North engaged Henry to make
 a progress thither, in order to quiet the minds of his peo-
 ple, to reconcile them to his government, and to abolish
 the antient superstitions, to which these parts were much
 addicted. He had also another motive for his journey:
 He proposed to hold a conference at York with his ne-
 phew the king of Scotland, and, if possible, to cement a
 close and indissoluble union with that kingdom.

THE

^K Saunders, de Schism. Angl.

^L Herbert, p. 468.

CHAP.

XXXII.

1541.
*State of
 affairs in
 Scotland.*

THE same spirit of religious innovation, which had seized the other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, long before this period, to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. About the year 1527, Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was sent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with some reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill disposed towards that church, of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the highest honours. The fervour of youth and his zeal for novelty made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendship, and a sympathy of opinion, had insinuated himself into his confidence, accused him to Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain, with some of the clergy, a dispute concerning the controverted points; and after much reasoning with regard to justification, free-will, original sin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the insinuations of ambition, was less likely to be shaken with the fears of death; while he proposed to himself, both the glory of bearing testimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compassionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved with the constancy of his end; and an accident, which soon followed, still more confirmed them in their favourable sentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who still insulted him at the stake, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ; and as that persecutor, either astonished with these events, or overcome with remorse, or, perhaps, seized casually with a distemper, soon after lost his senses, and fell into a fever, of which he died; the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet, as well as a martyr^L.

AMONG the disciples converted by Hamilton, was one friar Forrest, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly discover his sentiments, was suspected to lean towards the new opinions. His diocesan, the bishop of Dunkeld, enjoined him, when he met with a good

^L Spottwood's, Hist. Church of Scotland, p. 63.

good epistle or good gospel, which favoured the liberties of CHAP. holy church, to preach on it, and let the rest alone. For XXXII. rest answered, that he had read both the Old and New Testament, and had not found an ill epistle, or ill gospel 1541. in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the Scriptures was regarded in these days as a sure characteristic of heresy; and Forrest was soon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the priests were deliberating on the place of his execution, a by-stander advised them to burn him in some cellar: for that the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected all those on whom it blew ^M.

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total subversion of antient establishments, which they represented as idolatrous, impious, detestable; the priests, who found both their honours and properties at stake, thought that they had a right to resist, by every expedient, these dangerous invaders, and that the same simple principles of equity, which justified a man in killing a pyrate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of such heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to ecclesiastics, might, they said be admitted in other cases; but seemed an absurdity, where fundamentals were shaken, and where the possessions, and even the subsistence of the established clergy were brought in danger. But though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of persecution, they found the success of this remedy very precarious, and observed, that the enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, was apt to prove contagious on the compassionate minds of the spectators. The new doctrine, amidst all the dangers to which it was exposed, spread itself secretly every where; and the minds of men were gradually disposed to a revolution in religion.

BUT the most dangerous symptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, moved by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. James himself, who was very poor, and was somewhat inclined

to

CHAP. to magnificence, particularly in building, had been swayed
 XXXII. ed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy
 1541. with the same fate which had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry also, never ceased exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and being moved both by the pride of making proselytes, and the prospect of security, if Scotland should embrace a close union with him, he solicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promise to that purpose.

THE ecclesiastics were extremely alarmed with this resolution of James, and they employed every expedient, in order to prevent the execution of it. They represented the dangers of innovation; the pernicious consequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himself into the hands of the English, his hereditary enemies; the dependance which must ensue upon his losing the friendship of France, and of all foreign potentates. To these considerations, they added the prospect of immediate interest, by which they found the king to be much governed: They offered him a present gratuity of fifty thousand pounds Scots: They promised him, that the church should always be ready to contribute to his supply: And they pointed out to him the confiscations of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thousand pounds a year to the crown revenues^N. The insinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and address had given a powerful influence over him, seconded all these reasons; and James was at last engaged, first to delay his journey, then to send excuses to the king of England, who had already come to York, in order to be present at the interview^O.

HENRY, vexed with the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting pyracies at sea, and incur-

sions

^N Buchanan, lib. xiv. Drummond in Ja. 5. Pitscotie, ibid. Knox.

^O Henry had sent some books, richly ornamented, to his nephew, who, as soon as he saw by the titles that they had a tendency to defend the new doctrines, threw them into the fire, in the presence of the person who brought them: Adding, it was better he should destroy them, than they him. See Epist. Reginald. Polz, pars. 1. p. 172.

ons at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received soon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he had always shewn an extreme delicacy. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage: The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even put up prayers in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him; and he desired the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of thanksgiving for that purpose. But the queen very little merited this tenderness: She had abandoned herself to lewd-*Discovery*ness. One Lascelles brought intelligence of her dissolute*of the* life to Cranmer; and told him, that his sister, formerly *queen's dis-**solute life.* a servant in the old dutchess of Norfolk's family, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her disorders. Derham and Mannoc, both of them servants of the dutchess, had been admitted to her bed; and she had even taken little care to conceal her shame from the other servants of the family. The primate, struck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to discover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed, that the matter should by no means be buried in silence; and the archbishop himself seemed the most proper person to disclose it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to speak on so delicate a subject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely astonished at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his consort, that he gave at first no credit to the information; and he said to the privy-seal, to lord Russel, high admiral, Sir Anthony Brown, and Wriothesely, that he regarded the whole as a forgery. Cranmer was now in a very perilous situation; and had not full proofs been found, certain and inevitable destruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealousy prompted him to search the matter to the bottom: The privy-seal was ordered to examine Lascelles, who persisted in the information he had given; and still appealed to his sister's testimony. That nobleman made next a pretence of hunting, and went to Sussex, where the woman at that time resided: He found her both constant in her former intelligence, and particular

CHAP. as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the
 XXXII. face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were
 arrested at the same time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confession; and discovered other particulars which redounded still more to her dishonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her secrets; and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was so deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found to his surprize, that his great skill in distinguishing a true maid, of which he boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his present consort. The queen being now questioned, denied her guilt; but when informed, that a full discovery was made, she confessed, that she had been criminal before her marriage; and only insisted, that she had never been false to the king's bed. But as there was evidence, that one Colepeper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage; and as it appeared, that she had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her service, she seemed to deserve very little credit in this asseveration: and the king besides, was not of a humour to make any difference between these degrees of guilt.

1542. HENRY found, that he could not so fully nor expeditiously satiate his vengeance on all these criminals as by
 16th Jan. assembling a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny. The two houses, having received the queen's confession, began by an address to the king, which consisted of several particulars. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were subject; but to consider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from these views to derive a subject of consolation. They desired leave to frame a bill of attainder against the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his assent to this bill, not in person, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commissioners appointed for that purpose. And as there was a law in force, making it treason to speak ill of the queen, as well as king, they craved his royal pardon, if any of them should, on the present occasion, have transgressed any part of that statute.

HAVING

HAVING obtained a gracious answer to these requests, CHAP. the parliament proceeded to a bill of attainder for treason XXXII. against the queen, and the viscountess of Rocheford, who had conducted her secret amours; and in this bill Colepeper and Derham were also comprized. At the same time they passed a bill of attainder for misprision of treason against the old dutchess of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle, lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the countess of Bridgewater, and nine persons more; because they knew the queen's vicious course of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's usual extravagance, to expect that parents should so far forget the ties of natural affection, and the sentiments of shame and decency, as to reveal to him the most secret disorders of their family. He himself seems to have been sensible of the cruelty of this sentence: For he pardoned the dutchess of Norfolk, and most of the others, condemned for misprision of treason.

1542.

HOWEVER, to secure himself for the future, as well as his successors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to frame a law, equally full of extravagance. It was enacted, that any one, who knew, or vehemently presumed any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, disclose it to the king or council, should be guilty of treason; prohibiting every one, at the same time, from spreading the matter abroad, or even privately whispering it to others. It was also enacted, that, if the king married any woman, who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this extraordinary clause, and said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow; for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute ^A. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner suitable to their dissolute life; and as the lady Rocheford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the discovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable sentiments, which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

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^A Burnet, vol. i. p. 314.

CHAP. XXXII. THE king made no demand of any subsidies from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter: He took farther steps towards the dissolution of colleges, hospitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practising on the presidents and governors, to make a surrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been successful with eight of them. But there was an obstacle to their farther progress: It had been provided, by the local statutes of most of these foundations, that no president, nor any fellows, could make such a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this consent was not easily obtained. All such statutes were now annulled by parliament; and the revenues of these houses, so useful to the public, were now exposed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites^B. The church had been so long their prey, that nobody was surprized at any new inroads made upon it. From the regular, Henry now proceeded to make devastations on the secular clergy. He extorted from many of the bishops a surrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the sees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy parasites and flatterers with their spoils.

*Ecclesiastical
affairs.*

THE clergy have been commonly so fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal interests go hand in hand with a jealousy for orthodoxy; and both these passions be regarded, by the people, ignorant and superstitious, as a zeal for religion: But the violent and headstrong character of Henry now dis-joined these objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church; his bigotry and arrogance by persecuting heretics. Though he engaged

^B It was enacted by this parliament, that there should be trial of treason in any county where the king should appoint by commission. The statutes of treason had been extremely multiplied in this reign; and such an expedient saved trouble and charges in trying that crime. The same parliament erected Ireland into a kingdom; and Henry henceforth annexed the title of king of Ireland to his other titles. This session, the commons first began the practice of freeing any of their members, who were arrested, by a writ issued by the speaker. Formerly it was usual for them to apply for a writ from chancery to that purpose. This precedent encreased the authority of the commons, and had afterwards considerable consequences. Holingshed, p. 955, 956. Baker, p. 289.

engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the six articles, so far as regard the marriage of priests, which was now only subjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands during life; he was still equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in speculative principles. He had appointed a commission, consisting of the two archbishops and several bishops of both provinces, together with a considerable number of doctors of divinity; and by virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy he had given them in charge to chuse a religion for his people. Before the commissioners had made any progress in this arduous undertaking, the parliament, in 1541, had passed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets, which these divines should thereafter establish with the king's consent: And they were not ashamed of thus expressly declaring, that they took their religion upon trust, and had no other rule, in religious as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their master. There is only one clause of the statute, which may seem at first sight to favour somewhat of the spirit of liberty: It was enacted that the ecclesiastical commissioners should establish nothing repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm. But in reality this proviso was inserted by the king, to serve his own purposes. By introducing a confusion and contradiction into the laws, he became more the master of every one's life and property. And as the antient independence of the church still gave him jealousy, he was well pleased, under cover of such a clause, to introduce appeals from the spiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reason, that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occasions to interpose in ecclesiastical causes, wherever they thought the law or royal prerogative concerned. A happy innovation! though at first invented for arbitrary purposes.

THE king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that spiritual supremacy, which he believed inherent in him, employed his commissioners to select a system of tenets for the assent and belief of the nation. A small volume was soon after published, called, the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined with a leaning towards the opinion

CHAP. of the reformers: The sacraments, which a few years
 XXXII. before were only allowed to be three, are now encreased
 1542. to the number of seven, conformably to the sentiments
 of the catholics. The king's caprice is discernible through-
 out the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded
 as his composition. For Henry, while he made his opi-
 nion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no
 canon nor authority, not even by any which he himself
 had formerly established.

THE people had occasion soon after to see a farther in-
 stance of the king's inconstancy. He was not long satis-
 fied with his Institution of a Christian Man: He order-
 ed a new book to be composed, called, the *Erudition of*
a Christian Man; and without asking the assent of the
 convocation, he published, by his own authority, and
 that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It
 differs from the Institution^D; but the king was no less po-
 sitive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and
 he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his
 signal. In both these books, he was particularly careful
 to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; and he
 was no less careful to retain the nation in the practice.

WHILE the king was spreading his own books among
 the people, he seems to have been extremely perplexed,
 as were also the clergy, what course to take with the
 Scriptures. A review had been made by the ecclesiasti-
 cal synod of the new translation of the Bible; and Gar-
 diner had proposed, that, instead of employing English
 expressions throughout, several Latin words should still
 be preserved; because they contained, as he pretended,
 such peculiar energy and significance, that they had no
 correspondent terms in the vulgar tongue^E. Among
 these were *ecclesia*, *pœnitentia*, *pontifex*, *contritus*, *holo-*
causta, *sacramentum*, *elementa*, *ceremonia*, *mysterium*, *pres-*
byter, *sacrificium*, *humilitas*, *satisfactio*, *peccatum*, *gratia*,
hostia, *charitas*, &c. But as this mixture would have
 appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated
 for no other purpose than to retain the people in their
 antient ignorance, the proposal was rejected. The know-
 ledge of the people, however, at least their disputative
 turn,

^D Collier, vol. ii. p. 190.

^E Burnet, vol. i. p. 315.

turn, seemed to be an inconvenience still more dangerous; and the king and parliament ^F, soon after the publication of the Scriptures, retracted the concession, which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants to peruse them ^G. Even that liberty was not granted, without an apparent hesitation, and a dread of the consequences: These persons were allowed to read, *so it be done quietly and with good order*. And the preamble to the act sets forth, “that many seditious and ignorant persons had abused the liberty granted them for reading the Bible, and that great diversity of opinion, animosities, tumults, and schisms had been occasioned by perverting the sense of the Scriptures.” It seemed very difficult to reconcile the king’s model for uniformity, with the permission of free enquiry.

THE mass book also passed under the king’s examination; and little alteration was yet made in it: Some doubtful or fictitious saints only were struck out; and the name of the pope was erased. This latter precaution was likewise used with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was sold. The word, pope, was carefully omitted or blotted out ^H; as if that precaution could abolish the term from the language, or as if such a persecution of it did not rather imprint it more strongly in the memory of the people.

THE king took care about this time to clear the churches of another abuse, which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces were there often acted, in derision of the former superstitions; and the reverence of the multitude for antient principles and modes of worship, was thereby gradually effaced ^I. We do not hear, that the catholics attempted to retaliate by employing this powerful engine against their adversaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expose that fanatical spirit, by which it appears, the reformers were generally actuated. Perhaps the people were not disposed to relish a jest on that side: Perhaps the greater simplicity and the more spiritual abstract worship of the protestants, gave less hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on sensible representations. It was, therefore, a very agreeable concession,

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^F Which met on the 22d of January, 1543. ^G 33 Hen. VIII. c. 1. ^H Parliamentary history, vol. iii. p. 113.

^I Burnet, vol. i. p. 318.

CHAP. cession, which the king made the catholic party, to suppress entirely these religious comedies.

XXXII.
1542.

Thus Henry laboured incessantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal statutes, to bring his subjects to an uniformity in their religious sentiments: But as he entered, himself, with the greatest earnestness, into all these scholastic disputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themselves to the study of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however present fear might restrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any set of tenets or opinions prescribed to them.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIII.

War with Scotland. — Victory at Solway. — Death of James the fifth. — Treaty with Scotland. — New rupture. — Rupture with France. — A Parliament. — Affairs of Scotland. — A Parliament. — Campaign in France. — A Parliament. — Peace with France and Scotland. — Persecutions. — Execution of the earl of Surrey. — Attainder of the duke of Norfolk. — Death of the king. — His character. — His laws.

HENRY being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots for slighting the advances, which he made for his friendship, would gladly have obtained a supply from the parliament, to enable him to prosecute that enterprize; but as he did not think it prudent to discover his intentions, the parliament, conformably to their frugal maxims, would understand no hints; and the king was disappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and so soon as he thought himself in a condition to invade Scotland, he published a manifesto, by which he endeavoured to justify his hostilities. He complained of James's disappointing him in the promised interview; which was the real ground of the quarrel*. But in order to give a more specious colouring to the enterprize, he mentioned other injuries; that his nephew had given protection to some English rebels and fugitives, and had detained some territory, which, Henry pretended, belonged to England. He even revived the old claim of the vassalage of Scotland, and he summoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and superior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and though James sent the bishop of Aberdeen, and Sir James Learmont of Darfay, to appease his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was assembling his army at Newcastle, Sir Robert Bowes, attended by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Ralph Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incursion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh,

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1542.
*War with
Scotland.*

* Buchanan, lib. 14. Drummond in James the fifth.

CHAP. Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and destroying
 XXXIII. that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas,
 his brother, who had been to many years banished their
 1542. country, and had subsisted by Henry's bounty, joined the
 English army in this incursion; and the forces, command-
 ed by Bowes, exceeded four thousand men. James had
 not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had
 posted a considerable body, under the command of the
 earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord
 Hume, at the head of his vassals, was hastening to join
 Huntley, when he met with the English army; and a
 24th Aug. battle immediately ensued. While they were engaged,
 the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Eng-
 lish, afraid of being surrounded and overpowered, took
 to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Evers, La-
 roun, and some other persons of distinction, were taken
 prisoners. A few only of small note fell in this skirmish^L.

THE duke of Norfolk, mean while, began to move
 from his camp at Newcastle; and being attended by the
 earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hert-
 ford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he ad-
 vanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above
 twenty thousand men; and it required the utmost efforts
 of Scotland to resist such a formidable armament. James
 had assembled his whole military force at Fala and Sau-
 trey, and was ready to advance so soon as he should be
 informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The Eng-
 lish passed the Tweed at Berwic, and marched along the
 banks of the river as far as Kelso; but hearing that James
 had gathered together near thirty thousand men, they re-
 passed the river at that village, and retreated into their own
 country^M. The king of Scots, inflamed with a desire of
 military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the
 signal for pursuing them, and carrying the war into Eng-
 land. He was surprized to find, that his nobility, who were
 in general disaffected on account of the preference, which
 he had given the clergy, opposed this resolution, and refus-
 ed to attend him in his projected enterprize. Enraged at
 this defection, he reproached them with cowardice, and
 threatened vengeance; but still resolved, with the forces
 which adhered to him, to make an impression on the
 enemy's country. He sent ten thousand men to the wes-
 tern borders, who entered England at Solway firth; and
 he

^L Buchanan, lib. 14.^M Ibid.

he himself followed them at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion. Disgusted, however, with the refractory disposition of his nobles, he sent a messenger to the army, depriving lord Maxwell, their general, of his commission, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely displeased with this alteration, and was just ready to disband; when a small body of English appeared, not exceeding 500 men, under the command of Dacres and Musgrave. A panic seized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout; for it was no action; but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility: Among these, the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey, who were all sent to London, and given in custody to different noblemen.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1542.

24th Nov.
*Victory at
Solway.*

THE king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was confounded; and being naturally of a melancholy disposition, as well as endowed with a high spirit, he lost all command of his temper on this dismal occasion. Rage against his nobility, who, he believed, had betrayed him; shame for a defeat by such unequal numbers; regret of the past, fear of the future; all these passions so wrought upon him, that he would admit of no consolation, but abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child? Being told, the latter; he turned about in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one: Many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage."

A FEW days after, he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of considerable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and personal courage, for representing those disorders, to which his kingdom, during that age, was so much exposed. He executed justice with the greatest impartiality and rigour; but as he supported the commonalty and the church against the rapine of the nobility, he escaped not the hatred of that order. The protestants also, whom he repressed, have endeavoured to throw

14th Dec.
*Death of
James the
5th.*

CHAP. throw many stains on his memory; but have not been
 XXXIII. able to fix any considerable imputation on him^N.

1543.

HENRY was no sooner informed of his victory and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreseen, the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his son, Edward, to the heiress of that kingdom^O. He called together the Scots nobles, who were his prisoners; and after reproaching them, in severe terms, for their breach of treaty, as he pretended, he began to soften his tone, and proposed to them this expedient, by which, he hoped, those disorders, so prejudicial to both states, would for the future be prevented. He offered to bestow on them their liberty without ransom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young mistress. They were easily prevailed on to give their assent to a proposal, which seemed so natural, and so advantageous to both kingdoms; and being conducted to Newcastle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk, hostages for their return, in case the intended nuptials were not completed: And they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in some confusion.

THE pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beaton, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence and authority upon him; and that prelate had been long regarded as prime minister to James, and as the head of that party, which defended the antient privileges and properties of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, this man apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and himself, endeavoured to keep possession of power; and for that purpose, he

^N The persecutions, exercised during James's reign, are not to be ascribed to his bigotry, a vice, of which he seems to have been as free as Francis the first or the emperor Charles, both of whom, as well as James, shewed, in different periods of their lives, even an inclination to the new doctrines. The extremities, to which all these princes were carried, proceeded entirely from the situation of affairs, during that age, which rendered it impossible for them to act with greater temper or moderation, after they had embraced the resolution of supporting the antient establishments. So violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equivalent to a formed design of changing the national religion.

• Stowe, p. 584. Herbert, Burnet, Buchanan.

he is accused of executing a deed, which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is said, a will for the king, appointing himself, and three noblemen, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant prince^s ^{CHAP. XXXIII.}: At least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation ^{1543.} _Q. By virtue of this will, Beaton had put himself in possession of the government; and having joined his interests with those of the queen-dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James the third; and on that account seemed best entitled to possess that high office, into which the cardinal had intruded himself. The prospect also of his succession after a princess, who was in such tender infancy, procured him many partizans; and though his character contained little spirit, activity, or ambition, a propensity, which he had discovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of these innovations. By means of these adherents, joined to the vassals of his own family, he had been able to make opposition to the cardinal's administration; and the suspicion of Beaton's forgery, with the accession of the noblemen, who had been prisoners in England, assisted too by some money sent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the present opportunity of returning into their native country, opposed the cardinal with all the force of that powerful family; and the majority of the convention had now embraced opposite interests to those which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to custody, under the care of lord Seton; and a negotiation was commenced with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following *Treaty* conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen should *with Scots-* remain in Scotland till she was ten years of age; that she *land.* should then be sent to England to be educated; that six Scots

^P Sadler's Letters, p. 161. Spotswood, p. 71. Buchanan, lib. 15. ^Q John Knox, History of the reformation,

CHAP. Scots nobles should immediately be delivered as hostages
 XXXIII. to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithstanding its union with England, should still retain its laws and privileges^R. By means of these equitable conditions, the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with such dismal calamities, seemed to be fully composed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

1543.

BUT the cardinal-primate, having prevailed on Seaton to restore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all these measures, which appeared to be so well concerted. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; and having represented to them the imminent danger, to which their revenues and privileges were exposed, he persuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large sum of money, by which, if entrusted to his management, he promised to overturn the schemes of their enemies^S. Besides the partizans, whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he roused up the zeal of those, who were attached to the catholic worship; and he represented the union with England as the sure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the antient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots against their southern neighbours, was also an infallible engine, by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make resistance, had procured a temporary assent to the alliance and marriage proposed, the settled habits of the nation produced an extreme aversion to those measures. The English ambassador and his train received many insults from persons, whom the cardinal had incited to commit those indignities, in hopes of bringing on a rupture: But Sadler very prudently dissembled the matter; and waited patiently, till the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for answer, that his authority was very precarious; that the nation had now taken a different impression; and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themselves as hostages to the English. Sadler, foreseeing the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promise, which they had given, of returning

^R Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters.

^S Buchanan, lib. 15.

turning into custody. None of them discovered so much sentiment of honour, as to perform their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis. Henry was so well pleased with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciously, but honoured him with presents, gave him his liberty, and sent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hostages ^T.

THIS behaviour of the Scots nobles, though it reflected dishonour on the nation, was not unacceptable to the cardinal, who foresaw, that all these persons would now be deeply interested to maintain their enmity and opposition to England. And as a war was soon expected with that kingdom, he found it necessary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the assistance of that antient ally, during the present distresses of the Scots nation. Though the French king was fully sensible of his interest in supporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made on him at a more unseasonable juncture. His pretensions on the Milanese, and his resentment against Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and having made very great, though fruitless efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more disabled at present from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any succour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed, that he was engaged in antient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, sent him over to his native country, as a support to the cardinal and the queen mother: And he promised, that a supply of money, and, if necessary, even military succours, should soon be dispatched after him. Arran, the governor, seeing all these preparations against him, assembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the person of the infant queen in his custody; but being repulsed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to trust that precious charge to four neutral persons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areskines, Lindseys, and Levisons. The arrival of Lenox, in the midst of these transactions, served to render the victory of the French party over the English still more indisputable ^U.

THE

^T Buchanan, lib. 15.^U Ibid. Drummond.

CHAP. THE opposition, which Henry met with in Scotland
 XXXIII. from the French intrigues, excited his resentment, and
 farther confirmed the resolution, which he had before
 taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms
 with those of the emperor. He had other grounds of
 complaint against the French king; which, though not
 of great importance, yet being recent, were able to over-
 balance those great injuries, which he had formerly re-
 ceived from Charles. He pretended, that Francis had
 engaged to imitate his example in separating himself en-
 tirely from the see of Rome, and that he had broken his
 promise in that particular. He was dissatisfied, that
 James, his nephew, had been allowed to marry, first
 Magdalene of France, then a princess of the house of
 Guise; and he considered these alliances as pledges,
 which Francis gave of his intentions to support the Scots
 against the power of England^B. He had been informed
 of some raileries, which the French king had thrown
 out against his conduct with regard to his wives. He
 was disgusted, that Francis, after so many obligations
 which he owed him, had sacrificed him to the emperor;
 and, in confidence of friendship, had rashly revealed his
 secrets to that subtle and interested monarch. And he
 complained, that regular payments were never made of
 the sums due to him by France, and of the pension,
 which had been promised. Impelled by all these motives,
 he alienated himself from his antient friend and confede-
 rate, and formed a league with the emperor, who very
 earnestly courted his alliance. This league, besides sti-
 pulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invad-
 ing France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter
 Francis's dominions with an army each of twenty-five
 thousand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry
 all the sums which he owed him, and to consign Boulogne,
 Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a security for the
 regular payment of his pension for the future: In case
 these conditions were rejected, the confederate princes
 agreed, to challenge, for Henry, the crown of France,
 or, in default of it, the dutchies of Normandy, Aquitaine,
 and Guienne; for Charles, the dutchy of Burgandy, and
 some other territories^C. That they might have a pre-
 tence

^B Pere Daniel.
 p. 2.

^C Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 768. vol. xv.

tence for enforcing these claims, they sent a message to CH A P. Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with Sultan Solymán, and to make reparation for all the prejudice, which Christendom had suffered from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refusal, war was declared against him by the allies. It may be proper to remark, that the partizans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no less odious than that which Francis had contracted with Solymán: And they observed, that this league was a breach of that solemn promise, which he had given to Clement the seventh, never to make peace or alliance with England.

XXXIII.
1543.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negotiating, 22a Jan. the king summoned a new session of parliament, in order *A parna-* to obtain supplies for his projected war with France. *ment.*

The parliament granted him a subsidy to be paid in three years: It was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three shillings in the pound upon any individual ^D. The convocation gave the king six shillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater sums were always, even during the establishment, of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity: Which made the emperor Charles say, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues, or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen, which brought him the golden eggs ^E.

THE parliament also facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to statutes: They appointed, that any nine counsellors should form a legal court for punishing all disobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal causes, as well as of all parliaments, seemed, if the king had so pleased, the necessary consequence

^D They who were worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, sixteen pence; from twenty and upwards, two shillings. Lands, fees, and annuities, from twenty shillings to five pounds, paid eight pence in the pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, sixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings; from twenty pounds and upwards, three shillings.

^E Gollier, vol. ii. p. 176.

CHAP. XXXIII. quence of this enormous law. He might issue a proclamation, for the execution of any penal statute, and afterwards try the criminals, not for breach of the statute, but for disobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable, that the lord Mountjoy entered a protest against this law; and it is equally remarkable, that that protest is the only one entered against any public bill during this whole reign^B.

1543.

WE have taken notice, in the end of the foregoing chapter, of some laws regarding religion, which the parliament passed, in order to gratify the king's humour. It was farther enacted^C, this session, that every spiritual person, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, the *Erudition of a christian man*, or contrary to any doctrine which he shall henceforth promulgate, was to be admitted, on the first conviction, to renounce his errors; on the second, he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refused to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattles, and to be liable to perpetual imprisonment. Indictments must be laid within a year after the offence, and the prisoner was allowed to bring witnesses for his purgation. These penalties were lighter than those formerly imposed on a denial of transubstantiation: It was, however, subjoined in this statute, that the act of the six articles was still in force. But in order to make the king more entirely master of his people, it was enacted, that he might hereafter, at his pleasure, change this act, or any provision in it. By this clause, both parties were retained in subjection: So far as regarded religion, the king was invested, in the fullest manner, with the sole legislative authority in his kingdom: And all his subjects were, under the severest penalties, expressly bound to receive implicitly, whatever doctrine he should please to recommend to them.

12th July. THE reformers began to entertain hopes, that this exorbitant power would be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage, Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in jest, that he would be obliged

^B Burnet, p. 222.

^C 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

obliged to espouse a widow. The king's league with the emperor, seemed a circumstance no less favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions.

C H A P.
XXXIII.
1543.

THE advantages, gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles, were very inconsiderable during the present year. The campaign was opened with a victory, gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor^H: Francis, in person, took the field early, and made himself master, without resistance, of the whole dutchy of Luxembourg: He afterwards took Landrecy, and added some fortifications to it. Charles, having at last assembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and after taking almost every fortress in the dutchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to submit to the terms, which he was pleased to prescribe to him. Being then joined by a body of six thousand English, he sat down before Landrecy, and covered the siege with an army of above forty thousand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to abandon the siege: But while these two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men stood in expectation of some great event, the French king found means to throw succours into Landrecy; and having thus effected his purpose, he skilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the season far advanced, despaired of success in his enterprize, and found it necessary to raise the siege.

THE vanity of Henry was flattered, by the figure which he made in the great transactions on the continent: But the interests of his kingdom were much more deeply concerned in the event of affairs in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of so indolent and unambitious a character, that, had he not been stimulated by his friends and dependents, he never had aspired to any share in the administration; and when he found himself overpowered by the party of the queen-dowager, the cardinal and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however dishonourable. He even gave them a sure pledge of his sincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himself to the Romish

^H Memoires du Bellay, lib. 10.

CHA P. with communion in the Franciscan church at Stirling.
XXXIII. By this weakness and levity he lost his credit with the

1543.

whole nation, and rendered the protestants, who were hitherto the chief support of his power, his most mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire ascendant in the kingdom: The queen-dowager put implicit confidence in him: The governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretension: Lenox alone was become an obstacle to his measures; and reduced him to some difficulty.

THE inveterate enmity, which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran, made the interests of these two noblemen entirely incompatible; and as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cause, had flattered him with the hopes of succeeding to the crown after their infant sovereign, this rivalry had tended still farther to rouse the animosity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aspire to the marriage of the queen-dowager, which would have given him some pretensions to the regency; and as he was become assuaging, on account of the services, which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found, that, since he must chuse between the friendship of Lenox and Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more easily governed, and who was invested with present authority, was in every respect preferable. In order to remove the former, after the easiest and least obnoxious manner, he wrote to Francis, with whom he had entire credit, by means of the duke of Guise, father of the queen-dowager; and after praising Lenox for his past services, he represented the present difficulties and obstructions, which he occasioned in the administration, and desired that he might be recalled to France, where he enjoyed great credit and large possessions. But the impatience of Lenox to attain his purposes, allowed not this political artifice leisure to operate. Finding that he was not likely to succeed in his pretensions to the queen-dowager, and that Arran prevailed in every contest, he retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely in his interests; he entered into a secret negotiation with the English court; and he summoned his vassals and partizans to attend him. All those who were inclined to the protestant religion, or were on any account discontented with the cardinal's administration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him

him a tender of their services. In a little time, he had collected an army of ten thousand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate destruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppose him; but as he was a prudent man, he foresaw, that Lenox could not long subsist so great an army, and he endeavoured to protract time, by opening a negociation with him. He seduced his followers, by various artifices; he engaged the Douglasses in his interests; he represented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: And Lenox, finding himself engaged in an unequal contest, was at last obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept terms of accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Present peace was restored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his castles, and putting himself in a posture of defence, waited the succours of the English, from whose assistance alone he expected to obtain the superiority over his enemies.

WHILE the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament; where a law was passed, such as he was pleased to dictate, with regard to the succession. After declaring, that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male issue, were first and immediate heirs to the kingdom, the parliament restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth to their right of succession. This seemed a reasonable piece of justice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confusion; but it was impossible for Henry to do any thing, however laudable, without betraying, in some circumstance, his usual extravagance and caprice: Though he opened the way for these two princesses to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reversed, which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of still excluding them, if they refused to submit to any conditions, which he should be pleased to impose; and he required them to enact, that, in default of his own issue, he might dispose of the crown, as he pleased, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foresee, that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering them the passive instrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all their acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purposes, which he was so bent to attain.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1543.

1544.

Jan. 14.
A parliament.

CHAP. AN act was passed, that the king's usual stile should be
 XXXIII. " King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of
 " the faith, and on earth the supreme head of the church
 1544. " of England and Ireland." It seemed a palpable inconsistency, to retain the title of Defender of the faith, which the see of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its cause against Luther; and yet subjoin his ecclesiastical supremacy, in opposition to the claims of that see.

AN act was also passed, for the remission of the debt, which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied from the people. It will easily be believed, that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary¹. But there was a peculiar circumstance attending the present statute, which none but Henry would have thought of: That those who had already got payment, either in whole or in part, should refund the sums to the exchequer.

THE oaths, which Henry established for the security of his ecclesiastical model, were not more reasonable than his other measures. All his subjects of any distinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's supremacy; but as the clauses which they swore to, had not been deemed entirely satisfactory, another oath was imposed; and it was added, that all those who had taken the former oaths, should be understood to have taken the new one^K. A strange supposition! to represent men as bound by an oath, which they had never consented to take.

THE most commendable law, to which the parliament gave their sanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the six articles, and enacted, that no person should be put to his trial upon any accusation concerning any of the offences comprized in that sanguinary statute, except on the oath of twelve persons before commissioners authorized for that purpose; and that no person should be arrested or committed to ward for any such offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accused of speaking in his sermon contrary to these articles, must be indicted within forty days.

THE king always experienced the limits of his exorbitant authority, whenever he demanded subsidies; however

¹ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

^K 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

ever moderate, from the parliament; and, therefore, not to hazard a refusal, he made no mention this session of a supply: But as his wars both with France and Scotland, as well as his usual prodigality, had involved him in great expence, he had recourse to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithstanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his subjects: And he enhanced gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight an ounce; and silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings. His pretence for this innovation, was to prevent the money from being exported; as if that expedient could any-wise serve the purpose. He even coined some base money, and ordered it to be current by proclamation. He named commissioners for levying a benevolence, and he extorted about seventy thousand pounds by this expedient. Read, alderman of London^L, a man somewhat advanced in years, having refused to contribute his share, or not coming up to the expectations of the commissioners, was inrolled as a foot soldier in the Scottish wars, and was there taken prisoner. Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into prison, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large composition^M. These powers of the prerogative, (which at that time passed unquestioned) the king's compelling any man to serve in any office, and imprisoning any man during pleasure, not to mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the sovereign, in a manner, absolute master of the person and property of every individual.

EARLY this year the king sent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet consisted of near two hundred vessels, and carried on board ten thousand men. Dudley lord Lisle commanded the sea forces; the earl of Hertford the land. The troops were disembarked near Leith; and after dissipating a small body which opposed them, they took that town without resistance, and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were soon beat down (for little or no resistance was made); and the English first pillaged, and then set fire to the city. The regent and cardinal were not prepared to oppose so great a force, and they fled to Stirling. Hertford marched eastward; and being joined by a new body under Evers, warden

P 2.

of

^L Herbert. Stowe, p. 588. Baker, p. 292.
win's Annals. Stowe, p. 588.

^M Good-

CHAP. of the east marches, he laid waste the whole country, XXXIII. burned and destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and then retreated into England; having lost only forty men in the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected some forces;—But finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who was justly suspected of a correspondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into England; where Henry settled a pension on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox stipulated conditions, by which, had he been able to execute them, he must have reduced his country to a total servitude^N.

1544.
18 May.

HENRY's policy was blamed in this sudden and violent incursion; by which he inflamed the passions of the Scots, without subduing their spirit; and it was commonly said, that he did too much, if he intended to solicit an alliance, and too little, if he meant a conquest^O. But the reason of his withdrawing the troops so soon, was his eagerness to carry on a projected enterprize against France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and must, as a necessary consequence, have involved the ruin of England. These two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thousand men: Henry engaged to set out from Calais; Charles from the Low Countries: They were to enter on no siege; but leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conquest of the kingdom. Francis could not oppose; to these formidable preparations, much above forty thousand men.

14th July. HENRY, having appointed the queen regent during
Campaign his absence, passed over to Calais with thirty thousand
in France. men, accompanied with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and the most flourishing nobility

^N Rymer, vol. xv. p. 23, 29.

^O Herbert. Burnet.

bility and gentry of his kingdom. The English army was soon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the whole composed an army, which nothing on that frontier was able to resist. The chief force of the French army was drawn to the side of Champagne, in order to oppose the imperialists.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

1544.

THE emperor, with an army of near sixty thousand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and not to lose time, while he waited for the march of his confederate, he sat down before Luxembourg, which he took: He thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuse, which was surrendered to him: Ligny met with the same fate: He next laid siege to St. Disier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave resistance, under the count de Sancerre, the governor, and the siege was protracted beyond expectation.

THE emperor was employed before this town at the time the English forces were assembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceless condition of the French frontiers, or thinking that the emperor had first broke engagements by forming sieges, or, perhaps, foreseeing at last the dangerous consequences of destroying entirely the French power, instead of marching forward to Paris, sat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil: The king himself that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corse, a brave old soldier, who encouraged the garrison to defend themselves to the last extremity against the English. He was killed during the course of the siege, and the town was immediately surrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin; who was afterwards beheaded for this dishonourable capitulation. 14th Sept.

DURING the course of this siege, Charles had taken St. Disier; and finding the season much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, since all his schemes for subduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deserting his ally, he sent a messenger to the English camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied, that he was too far engaged in the siege of Boulogne to raise it with honour, and that the emperor himself had first

CHAP. first broke the concert by forming sieges. This answer
 XXXIII. served Charles as a sufficient reason for concluding a peace
 with Francis, at Crepy, where no mention was made of
 England. He stipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to
 his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of
 Orleans, Francis's second son; and Francis, in return,
 withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and re-
 nounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories
 in Italy. This peace, so advantageous to Francis, was
 procured, partly by the decisive victory obtained in the
 beginning of the campaign by the count d'Anguyen over
 the Imperialists at Ceriselles in Piedmont, partly by the
 emperor's great desire to turn his arms against the protest-
 ant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to
 separate from the English in Picardy; and Henry, find-
 ing himself obliged to raise the siege of Montreuil, re-
 turned into England. This campaign served to the popu-
 lace as a matter of great triumph; but all men of sense
 concluded, that the king had, as in all his former military
 enterprizes, made, at an infinite charge, an acquisition,
 which was of no manner of consequence.

1544.
 18th Sept.
 30th Sept.

THE war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted
 feebly, and with various success. Sir Ralph Evers, now
 lord Evers, and Sir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into
 that kingdom; and having laid waste the counties of Ti-
 viotdale and the Merse, they proceeded to the abbey of
 Coldingham, which they took possession of, and fortified.
 The regent assembled an army of eight thousand men,
 in order to dislodge them from this post; but he had no
 sooner opened his batteries before the place, than a
 sudden panic seized him, and he fled to Dunbar. He
 complained of the mutinies of his army, and pretended to
 be afraid lest they should deliver him into the hands of
 the English: But his own unwarlike spirit was generally
 believed to have been the motive of this dishonourable
 retreat. The Scots army, upon the departure of their
 general, immediately fell into confusion; and had not
 Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the can-
 non, and protected their rear, the English might have
 gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with
 this success, boasted to Henry, that he had conquered all
 Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this
 important service. The duke of Norfolk, who knew
 with

with what difficulty such acquisitions would be maintained against a warlike people, advised the king to grant him, as his reward, the conquests of which he so highly boasted. The next inroad made by the English, shewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thousand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him, that some Scots forces appeared near the abbey of Melrois. Angus had excited the regent to more activity; and a proclamation being issued for assembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a considerable body had repaired to the public standard. Norman Lesly, son to the earl of Rothes, had also joined the army with some volunteers from Fife; and he inspired courage into the whole, as well by this accession of force, as by his personal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the necessity of a steady defence, the Scots leaders ordered all their cavalry to dismount; and they resolved to wait, on some high grounds at Ancram, the assault of the English. The English, whose past successes had taught them too much to despise the enemy, thought, when they saw the Scots army led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they hastened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and being favoured by the advantage of the ground, as well as by the surprize of the English, who expected no resistance, they soon put them to flight, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thousand men were made prisoners. In order to support the Scots in this war, Francis, some time after, sent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery, lord of Lorges^p. Reinforced by these succours, the regent assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the east borders of England. He laid all waste wherever he came; and having met with no considerable resistance, he retired into his own country, and dispersed his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and west marches; and the war on both sides was signalized, rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy, than by any considerable advantage gained by either party.

THE

^p Buchanan, lib. 15. Drummond.

CHAP. THE war likewise between France and England was
 XXXIII. not distinguished this year by any memorable event,
 1545. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred sail,
 besides gallies; and having embarked some land forces on
 board, he sent them to make a descent in England. They
 sailed to the Isle of Wight, where they found the English
 fleet lying at anchor in St. Helens. It consisted not of
 above a hundred sail; and the admiral thought it most
 adviseable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing
 the French into the narrow passages and rocks, which were
 unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded one another
 for two days; and except the sinking of the *Mary Rose*, one
 of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage on both
 sides was inconsiderable. The French landed troops in the
 Isle of Wight, and committed ravages; but being repul-
 sed by the militia of the country, they retired to their ships,
 which soon after set sail for France. They were again
 driven by the wind on the coast of England, where they
 met with the English fleet; and a new cannonading ensued,
 which proved no more decisive than the foregoing. It was indeed scarce
 possible, that a fleet at that time could, without boarding,
 gain any considerable advantage over the enemy. The
 cannon were commonly so ill served, that a French writer
 of memoirs^R observes, as a circumstance somewhat
 singular, that each of these numerous fleets, in a two
 hours' engagement, fired full three hundred shot. One
 small vessel in our time could, without difficulty, do thrice
 as much.

FRANCIS's chief intention, in equipping so great a
 fleet, was to prevent the English from throwing succours
 into Boulogne, which he intended to besiege; and for
 that purpose, he ordered a fort to be built, by which he
 proposed to block up the harbour. After a considerable
 loss of money and time, the fort was found so ill con-
 structed, that he was obliged to abandon it; and though
 he had brought together, on that frontier, an army of
 near forty thousand men, he was not able to effect any
 considerable enterprize. He broke into the territory of
 Oye, an extent of country, which lies near Calais, and
 which served commonly to supply the garrison with pro-
 visions; and he laid it entirely waste by fire and sword.

Several

^Q Belear. *Memoirs du Bellay.* ^R De Langey.

Several skirmishes ensued between the French and English, in one of which the duke of Aumale received a remarkable wound. A lance was run into his head between his eye and nose; and notwithstanding that the lance broke, and the head of it remained in the wound, he was not dismounted by so violent a shock; and the head of the lance being extracted by a skilful surgeon, Aumale afterwards recovered, and rendered himself extremely famous under the name of duke of Guise. Henry, in order to defend his possessions in France, had levied fourteen thousand Germans; who having marched to Fleurines in the bishopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a passage through his dominions: They received intelligence of a superior army on the side of France ready to intercept them: Want of occupation and of pay soon bred a mutiny among them: And having seized the English commissaries as a security for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There seems to have been some want of foresight in this expensive armament.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1545.

THE great expence of these two wars, maintained by Henry, obliged him to summon a new parliament. The commons granted him a subsidy, payable in two years, of two shillings a pound on land^s: The spirituality voted him six shillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehensive lest more demands should be made upon them, endeavoured to save themselves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; and in one vote they bestowed on the king all the revenues of the university, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels^T, and hospitals. Henry was pleased with this concession, as it increased his power; but he had no intention of despoiling learning of all her endowments; and he soon took care to inform the universities, that he meant not to touch

^s Those who possessed goods or money, above five pounds and below ten, were to pay eight pence a pound: Those above ten pounds, a shilling.

^T A chauntry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar in some cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to say mass or perform divine service, for the use of the founders, or such others as they appointed: Free chapels were independent on any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the former. Jacob's Law Dict.

CHAP. touch their revenues. Thus these antient and celebrated
 XXXIII. establishments owe their subsisting to the generosity of
 the king, not to the protection of this servile and profligate
 1545. parliament.

THE prostitute spirit of the parliament appeared farther in the preamble of a statute^u; in which they recognize the king to have always been, by the word of God, supreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge, that archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction but by his royal mandate: To him alone, say they, and such persons as he shall appoint, full authority and power is given from above to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, nor even of a parliament. His proclamations are acknowledged to have, not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he may regulate the actions of men, controul their words, and even direct their inward sentiments and opinions.

24th Dec. THE king made in person a speech to the parliament on proroguing them; where, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he said, equalled what was ever paid by their ancestors to any king of England, he complained of their dissensions, disputes and animosities in religion. He told them, that the several pulpits were become a kind of batteries against each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptist, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papist and hypocrite: That he had permitted his people the use of the Scriptures, not in order to furnish them materials for dispute and railing, but that he might enable them to inform their consciences and instruct their children and families: That it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was prostituted, by being introduced into the conversation of every alehouse and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the spiritual and legal pastors: And that he was sorry to observe, that the word of God, while it was the object of so much anxious speculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that though an imaginary knowledge so much
 abounded,

^u 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

abounded, charity was daily going to decay ^A. The king C H A P. XXXIII.
 gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging
 speculation and dispute, was ill qualified to promote
 that peaceable submission of opinion, which he recom- 1546.
 mended.

HENRY employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he sent over the earl of Hertford, and lord Lisle the admiral to Calais, with a body of nine thousand men, two thirds of which consisted of foreigners. Some skirmishes of small moment ensued with the French; and no hopes of any considerable progress could be entertained by either side. Henry, whose animosity against Francis was not violent, had given sufficient vent to his humour by this short war; and finding, that from his great encrease in corpulence and decay in strength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was desirous of ending a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis, likewise, on his part, was not averse to peace with England; because, having lately lost his son, the duke of Orleans, he revived his antient claim upon Milan, and fore- 7th June.
 saw, that hostilities must soon, on that account, break Peace
 out between him and the emperor. Commissioners, with
 therefore, having met at Campe, a small place between France
 Ardres and Guisnes, the articles were soon agreed on, and Scot-
 and the peace signed by them. The chief conditions land.
 were, that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis should be paid. This debt was settled at two millions of livres, besides a claim of 500,000 livres, which was afterwards to be adjusted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained by a war, which cost him above one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling ^B, was a bad security for a debt, which was not a third of the value.

THE king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs; particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but he was at last prevailed with to permit, that the Litany, a considerable part of the public

^A Hall, fol. 261. Herbert, p. 534.

^B Herbert, Stowe.

CHAP. public service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue;
 XXXIII. and by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the
 reformers, who had been somewhat discouraged by the

1546.

severity of the law, which enacted the six articles. One petition of the new Litany was a prayer to save us *from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities*. Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's absence, who was sent in an embassy to the emperor: But Gardiner, having wrote to the king, that, if he carried his opposition against the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the success of Cranmer's projects was for that time retarded. Cranmer lost this year the most sincere and powerful friend, whom he possessed at court; Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: The queen-dowager of France, spouse to Suffolk, had died some years before. This nobleman is one instance, that Henry was not altogether incapable of a cordial and steady friendship; and Suffolk seems to have been entirely worthy of that favour, which, from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed with his master. The king was sitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took that occasion both to express his own sorrow for the loss, and to celebrate the merits of the deceased. He declared, that, during the whole course of their correspondence, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adversary, and had never whispered a word to the disadvantage of any person. "Is there any of you, my lords, who can say as much?" When the king subjoined these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw that confusion, which the consciousness of secret guilt naturally threw upon them^c.

CRANMER himself, when bereaved of this support, was the more exposed to those cabals of the courtiers, which the opposition of party and religion, joined to the usual motives of interest, rendered so frequent among Henry's ministers and counsellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his passion for orthodoxy; and they represented to him, that, if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no greater success, it was owing altogether to the primate, whose example and encouragement were, in reality, the secret supports of heresy.

Henry,

^c Coke's Inst. cap. 99.

Henry, seeing the point to which they tended, feigned a compliance, and desired the council to make enquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promising that, if he was found guilty, he would send him to the tower, and bring him to condign punishment. All the world now gave the primate for lost; and his old friends, from mercenary views, as well as the opposite party, from animosity, began to shew him marks of neglect and disregard. He was obliged to stand several hours among the lacqueys at the door of the council-chamber, before he could be admitted; and when he was at last called in, he was told, that they had determined to send him to the tower. Cranmer said, that he appealed to the king himself; and finding his appeal disregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and when they came before the king, he reprov'd them in the severest terms, and told them, that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: But he was determined to crush all their cabals, and to teach them, by the severest discipline, since gentle methods were in vain, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his service. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and said, that their only intention was to set the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: And Henry obliged them all to embrace him, as a sign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more sincere on his part, than is usual in such forced compliances ^D.

BUT though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered *persecutions* fruitless all accusations against him, his pride and peevishness, irritated by his declining state of health, carried him to punish with fresh severity all others who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty ^E, who had connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herself, was accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, instead of having indulgence to the weakness of her sex and age, was but the more

^D Burnet, vol. i. p. 343, 344. Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranm.

^E Bale, Speed, 780.

C H A P. more provoked, that a woman should dare to oppose his
 XXXIII. theological sentiments. She was prevailed on, by Bon-
 1546. ner's menaces, to make a seeming recantation; but she
 qualified it with some reserves, which did not satisfy that
 zealous prelate. She was thrown into prison, and there
 employed herself in composing prayers and discourses,
 by which she fortified her resolution to endure the utmost
 extremity rather than relinquish her religious principles.
 She even wrote to the king, and told him, that as to the
 Lord's Supper, she believed as much as Christ himself
 had said of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the
 catholic church had required: But while she could not
 be brought to acknowledge an assent to the king's expli-
 cations, this declaration availed her nothing, and was ra-
 ther regarded as a fresh insult. The chancellor, Wrio-
 thesely, who had succeeded Audley, and who was much
 attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her
 with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies
 who were in correspondence with her: But she main-
 tained a very laudable fidelity to her friends, and would
 confess nothing. She was put to the torture in the most
 barbarous manner, and continued still resolute in pre-
 serving secrecy. Some authors ^F add a very extraordi-
 nary circumstance: That the chancellor, who stood by,
 ordered the lieutenant of the tower to stretch the rack
 still farther; but the lieutenant refused compliance with
 that cruelty. The chancellor menaced him; but met
 with a new refusal: Upon which that magistrate, who
 was otherwise a person of merit, but intoxicated with re-
 ligious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it
 so violently that he almost tore her body asunder. Her
 constancy still surpassed the barbarity of her persecutors,
 and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was
 then condemned to be burned alive; and being so dislo-
 cated by the rack, that she could not stand, she was car-
 ried to the stake in a chair. Together with her, were
 conducted Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lassels of
 the king's family, and John Adams a taylor, who had
 been

^F Fox, vol. ii. p. 578. Speed, p. 780. Baker, p. 299.
 But Burnet questions the truth of this circumstance: Fox, how-
 ever, transcribes her own paper, where she relates it. I must
 own, in justice to the king, that he disapproved of Wriothesely's
 conduct, and commended the lieutenant.

been condemned for the same crime to the same punishment. They were all tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation, the chancellor sent to inform them, that their pardon was ready drawn and signed, and should instantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames, which consumed them. Wriothesely did not consider, that this public and noted situation interested their honour the more to maintain a steady perseverance.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1546.

THOUGH the secrecy and fidelity of Anne Ascue saved the queen from this peril, she soon after fell into a new danger, from which she very narrowly escaped. There was an ulcer broke out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him, even more than usual, peevish and passionate. The queen, during this time, attended him with the most tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every soothing art and compliance, to allay those gusts of humour, to which he was become so subject. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catherine, whose good sense made her capable of discoursing on any subject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, she unwarily discovered too much of her mind on these occasions. Henry, highly provoked, that she should presume to differ from him, made complaints of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praised the king's anxious care for preserving the orthodoxy of his subjects; and represented, that the more elevated the person was who was chastised, and the more near to his person, the greater terror would the example strike into every one, and more glorious would the sacrifice appear to all posterity. The chancellor, being consulted, was engaged by religious zeal to second these topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counsellors, went so far as to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up against his consort. Wriothesely executed his commands; and soon after brought the paper to him to be signed: For as it was high treason to throw slander upon the queen, he might otherwise have been questioned

CHAP. questioned for his temerity. In going home, he chanced
 XXXIII. to drop this important paper from his pocket; and as
 1546. some person of the queen's party found it, it was immediately carried to her. She was sensible of the extreme danger, to which she was exposed; but did not despair of being able, by her prudence and address, still to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than she had reason to expect. He entered on the subject, which was so familiar to him; and he seemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the conversation, and observed, that such profound speculations were ill suited to the natural imbecillity of her sex. Women, she said, by their first creation, were made subject to men: The male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: It belonged to the husband to choose principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all cases, to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband: And as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blest with a husband, who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wife and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king, "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied, that she was sensible how little she was intitled to these praises; that though she usually declined not any conversation, however sublime, when proposed by his majesty, she well knew, that her conceptions could serve no other purpose than to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition, and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments, in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her; and that she also proposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him in topics, whence, she had observed by frequent experience, that she reaped profit and instruction. "And is it so, sweet-heart?" replied the king, "then we are perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this sudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the tower, pursuant to the
 the

the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were conversing amicably in the garden, when the chancellor appeared with forty of the pursuivants. The king spoke to him at some distance from her; and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest manner: She even over-heard the terms of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*, which he very liberally bestowed upon that magistrate; and then ordered him to depart his presence. She afterwards interposed to mitigate his anger: He said to her, "Poor soul! you know "not how little intitled this man is to your good offices." From thenceforth, the queen, having narrowly escaped so great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards recover his favour and good opinion.

BUT Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, burst out soon after to the destruction of a man, who possessed a much superior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a great part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subjects in the kingdom, and had rendered very considerable services to the crown. The duke himself had in his youth distinguished himself by naval enterprises: He had much contributed to the victory over the Scots at Flouden: He had suppressed a dangerous rebellion in the North: And he had always done his part with honour in all the expeditions against France. Fortune seemed to conspire with his own industry, in raising him to the highest elevation. By the favours heaped on him from the crown, he had acquired an immense estate: The king had been successively married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: Besides his descent from the antient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended by a female from Edward the third: And as he was believed still to adhere secretly to the antient religion, he was regarded, abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all these circumstances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and

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Q

he

^c Burnet, vol. i. p. 344. Herbert, p. 560. Speed, p. 780.
Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 58.

CHAP. he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to
 XXXIII. to the public tranquillity, and the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so potent a subject. But nothing tended more to expose Norfolk to the king's vengeance, than the prejudices, which Henry had entertained against the earl of Surrey, son to that nobleman.

1546.

SURREY was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment, which became a scholar, a courtier and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises, which were then in request: He encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example: he had made some successful attempts in poetry; and being smit with the romantic gallantry of that age, he celebrated the praises of his mistresses, by his pen and his lance, in every masque and tournament. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by that caution and reserve, which his situation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne, when that town was taken by Henry; but though his personal bravery was unquestioned, he had been unfortunate in some rencounters with the French. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct, had sent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers, on account of this affront, which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other proposal of marriage; Henry imagined, that he had entertained views of espousing the lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition.

12th of
 Decemb.
 1547.

ACTUATED by all these motives, and perhaps too influenced by that old disgust, with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inspired him against her whole family, he gave private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day confined in the tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries seem ever to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown, during this whole reign.

Execution He was accused, that he had entertained in his family
 of the earl some Italians who were suspected to be spies; a servant of
 of Surrey. his had paid a visit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he

was

was *suspected* of entertained a correspondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, which made him be *suspected* of aspiring to the crown, though both he and his ancestors had openly, during the course of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even justified it by their authority. These were the crimes, for which a jury, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence, condemned this nobleman for high treason, and their sentence was soon after executed upon him.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1547.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son; as his services to the crown had been much greater. His dutches, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been so base as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all she knew against him: Elizabeth Holland, a mistress of his, had been equally subservient to the designs of the court: Yet with all these advantages his accusers discovered no greater crime, than his once saying, that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into disorders, through the diversity of religious opinions. He wrote a most pathetic letter to the king, pleading his past services, and protesting his innocence: Soon after he embraced a more proper expedient for appeasing Henry, by making a submission and confession, such as his enemies required: But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He assembled the parliament, as the surest and most expeditious instrument of his tyranny; and the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; and he retired to his seat at Croydon^H. The king was now approaching fast towards his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill, on pretence, that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marshal, and it was necessary to appoint another, who might officiate at the ensuing ceremony of installing his son prince of Wales. The obsequious commons

*Attainder
of the duke
of Norfolk.*

14th Jan.

Q 2

obeyed

^H Burnet, vol. i. p. 348. Fox.

CHAP. obeyed his directions, though founded on so frivolous a
 XXXIII. pretence; and the king, having affixed the royal assent to
 the bill by commissioners, issued orders for the execution
 1547. of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But news being carried to the tower, that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

THE king's health had been long in a declining state; but for several days all those near him plainly saw his end approaching. He was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition; and as some persons, during this reign, had undergone the punishment of traitors for foretelling the king's death¹, every one was afraid, lest, in the transports of his fury, he might, on this pretence, inflict death on the author of such friendly intelligence. At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation; and desired that Cranmer might be sent for: But before that prelate arrived, he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of dying in the faith of Christ: He squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months: and in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

THE king had made his will near a month before his decease; in which he confirmed the destination of parliament, by leaving the crown first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: The two princesses he obliged, under penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without the consent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter to his sister, the French queen; then on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his eldest sister, he made use of the power obtained from parliament; but as he subjoined, that, after the failure of the

¹ Lanquet's Epitome of chronicles in the year 1541.

the French queen's posterity; the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line. It was thought, that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: He left money for masses to be said for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of *their* souls; and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith, which he promulgated during his latter years; he was yet determined, when matters came to the last, to take care, at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question^{*}.

C H A P.
XXXIII.

1547.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's *His cha-* qualities: He was so different from himself in different *raiser.* parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. The absolute, uncontrouled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances, which entitle him to the appellation of a *great* prince; while his tyranny and cruelty exclude him from the character of a *good* one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man, who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined, either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities

^{*} See his will in Fuller, Heyler, and Rymer, p. 110. There is no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity.

CHAPTER. qualities incident to human nature: Violence, cruelty, XXXIII. profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice: But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he, at intervals, altogether devoid of virtues: He was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his time served to display his faults in their full light: The treatment which he met with from the court of Rome, provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his superstitious subjects, seemed to require the most extreme severity. But it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that his situation tended to throw an additional lustre on what was great and magnanimous in his character: The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithstanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe: The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish, disposition of his parliament, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion, by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

It may seem a little extraordinary, that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects; but never was the object of their hatred: He seems even in some degree to have possessed, to the last, their love and affection^L. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude: His magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes; And it may be said, with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny, which were exercised over themselves, at their own expence.

With regard to foreign states, Henry appears long to have supported an intercourse of friendship with Francis, more sincere and disinterested than usually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealousy of the emperor Charles, and some resemblance in their characters, (though the comparison sets the French monarch in a very superior and advantageous light) served

as

^L Strype, vol. i. p. 389.

as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is said to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expressed much regret for the loss. His own health began to decline: He foretold, that he should not long survive his friend^M: And he died in about two months after him.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

1547.

THERE were ten parliaments summoned by Henry VIII. and twenty-three sessions held. The whole time in which these parliaments sat during this long reign, exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a year during the first twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged him afterwards to call these assemblies more frequently: But though these were the most important transactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted attachment to Henry's will, added to their earnest desire of returning soon to their country seats, produced a very quick dispatch of the bills, and made the sessions of short duration. All the king's caprices were, indeed, blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the safety or liberty of the subject. Besides the violent prosecution of whatever he was pleased to call heresy, the laws of treason were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the disparagement of the king, queen, or royal issue, were subjected to that penalty; and so little care was taken in framing these rigorous statutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; insomuch, that, had they been strictly executed, every man, without exception, must have fallen under the penalty of treason. By one statute^N, for instance, it was declared treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn: By another^O, it was treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them spurious would, no doubt, be construed to their slander. Nor would even a profound silence, with regard to these delicate points, be able to save a person from such penalties. For by the former statute, whoever refuses to answer upon oath to any point contained in that act, was subjected to the pains of treason. The king, therefore, needed only to propose to any one a question with regard to the legality of either of

^M Le Thou, VIII. c. 1.

^N 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

^O 34, 35 Hen.

CHAP. of his first marriages: If the person was silent, he was
 XXXIII. a traitor by law: If he answered, either in the negative
 1547. or in the affirmative, he was no less a traitor. So monstrous were the inconsistencies, which arose from the furious passions of the king, and the slavish submission of his parliaments. It is hard to say, whether these contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed design of tyranny.

His laws. IT may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to police or commerce: Nothing can better shew the genius of the age than such a review of the laws.

THE abolition of the ancient religion contributed much to the regular execution of justice. While the catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crimes in the clergy: The church would not allow the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities: The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon^r. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy: It exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament restrained these abuses. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason^q; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason^r: And it limited them in other particulars^s.

THE only expedient employed to support the military spirit during this age, was the reviving and extending some old laws, enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was supposed very much to depend. Every man ordered to have a bow^t: Butts were ordered to be erected in every parish^u: And every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wiche, for the service of the common people^w. The use of cross-bows and hand-guns was also prohibited^x. What rendered the English bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts

^r 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1. ^q 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ^r 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12. ^s 22 Hen. VIII. c. 14. ^t 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ^u Ibid. ^w Ibid. ^x 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

halberts with them, by which they were enabled, upon CH A P. occasion, to engage in close fight with the enemy ^Y. Fre- XXXIII. quent musters or arrays were also made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of substance were obliged to have a complete suit of armour or harness, as it was called ^Z. The martial spirit of the English, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, sufficient for the defence of the nation; and as the king had then an absolute power of commanding the service of all his subjects, he could presently, in case of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleased. When no faction or division prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever dared to think of invading England. The city of London alone could muster fifteen thousand men ^A. Discipline, however, was an advantage wanting to these troops; though the garrison of Calais was a nursery of officers; and Tournay first ^B, Bologne afterwards, served to encrease the number. Every one, who served abroad, was allowed to alienate his lands withoet paying any fees ^C. A general permission was granted to dispose of land by will ^D. The parliament were so little jealous of their privileges, (which indeed were, at that time, scarce worth preserving) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was very severely treated by the Stannery courts of Cornwall: Heavy fines were imposed on him; and upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger: Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such an inferior court, was to enact, that no man could be questioned afterwards for his conduct in parliament ^E. This prohibition, however, must only be extended to the inferior courts: For as to the king and privy council, and star-chamber, they were scarce bound by any law.

THERE

^Y Herbert. shed, p. 947. Stowe, p. 577. VIII. c. 15. VIII. c. 8.

^Z Hall, fol. 234. Stowe, p. 515 Holing-

^A Hall, fol. 235. Holingshed, p. 547.

^B Hall, fol. 68. ^C 14 and 15 Hen.

^D 34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5. ^E 4 Hen.

CHAP. THERE is a bill of. tonnage and poundage, which
XXXIII. shews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed

1547.

both of their own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign^T. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry the fourth, during the term of his own life only: Yet Henry the eighth had already been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and tho' there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last, the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but even in this concession, they shew themselves plainly at a loss to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himself to levy it. They say, that the imposition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: They yet blame the merchants who had not paid to the present king that duty: They observe, that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired; yet make no scruple to call that imposition the king's due: They affirm that he had sustained great and manifold losses by those who had defrauded him of this duty: And to provide a remedy, they vote him that supply during his lifetime, and no longer. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this last clause, all his successors, for more than a century, continued in the like irregular practice: If a practice may deserve that epithet, in which all the world acquiesced, and which gave no offence. But when Charles the first attempted to continue in the same course, which had now received the sanctions of many generations, so much were the opinions of men altered, that a furious tempest was excited by it; and historians, partial or ignorant, still represent that measure as a most violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

THE king was allowed to make laws for Wales, without consent of parliament^U. With regard to England, the limitation was little more than a formality.

THE foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependence of these countries on each other; and the great loss sustained by both, in case of a rupture.

^T 6 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

^U 34 Hen. VIII.

rupture. During all the variations of politics, the sovereigns usually avoided the coming to this extremity; and though the king bore a much greater friendship to Francis, the propensity of the nation always lay towards the emperor. C H A P. XXXIII. 1547.

IN 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; but were soon stopt by mutual agreement. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchase cloth in England, the English merchants could not buy it of the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to dismiss their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appease them, sent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as usual: They told him, that they could not dispose of it as usual; and notwithstanding his menaces, he could get no other answer from them^w. An agreement was at last made to continue the commerce between the states, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any sallads, carrots, turnips or other edible roots were produced in England. All these vegetables were formerly imported from Holland and Flanders^x. Queen Catherine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger to those countries.

THE foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and hence the violent animosity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. They had the assurance to complain, that all their customers went to foreign tradesmen; and in the year 1517, being moved by the seditious sermons of one doctor Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the house of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great disorders; killed some of his servants; and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appease them; nor Sir Thomas More, late under sheriff, though much respected in the city. They also threatened cardinal Wolsey with some insult; and he thought it necessary

^w Hall, folio 174.

^x Anderson, vol. i. p. 338.

CHAP. necessary to fortify his house, and put himself on his guard.

XXXIII. Tired at last with these disorders, they dispersed themselves; and the earls of Shrewsbury and Surrey seized
 1547. some of them. A proclamation was issued, that women

should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city, at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made enquiry into the tumult. Beale and Lincoln, and several others, were sent to the tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he dismissed them all without further punishment ^x.

So great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order from the council, when Henry became jealous of their favour for queen Catherine ^y. Henry himself confesses, in an edict of the star-chamber, printed among the statutes, that the foreigners starved the natives; and obliged them from idleness to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities ^z. He also asserts, that the vast multitudes of the foreigners raised the price of grain and bread ^a. And to prevent the increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited to have above two foreigners in their house, either journey-men or apprentices. A like jealousy arose against the foreign merchants; and to comply with it, a law was enacted obliging all denizens to pay the duties imposed upon aliens ^b. The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artizans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their skill. The prisoners in the kingdom, for debts and crimes, are asserted in an act of parliament, to be sixty thousand persons and above ^c; which is not credible. Holingshed asserts that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign, which would
 amount

^x Stowe, 505. Holingshed, 840. ^y Le Grand, vol. iii, p. 232. ^z 21 Hen. VIII. ^a Ibid. ^b 22 Ibid. c. 8. ^c 3 Ibid. c. 15.

amount to nearly 2000 a year. He adds, that in the CHAP. latter end of Elizabeth's reign there were not executed XXXIII. above 400 a year: It appears, that in all England there are not executed at present fifty. If these facts be just, 1547- there has been a great improvement of morals since the reign of Henry VIII:

THERE is a remarkable clause in a statute passed near the beginning of this reign ^D, by which we might be induced to believe, that England was extremely decayed from the flourishing condition, which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted in the reign of Edward the second, that no magistrate in town or borough, who by his office ought to keep assize, should during the continuance of his magistracy, sell, either in whole-sale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law seemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the assize: Yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reason assigned is, that "since the making of that statute" and ordinance, many and the most part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of such substance as at the time of making that statute: For at this day, the dwellers and inhabitants of the same cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fishmongers, and other victuallers, and there remain few others to bear the offices." Men have such a propensity to exalt past times above the present, that it seems dangerous to credit this reasoning of the parliament, without further evidence to support it. So different are the views in which the same object appears, that some may be inclined to draw an opposite inference from this fact. A more regular police was established in the reign of Henry the eighth than in any former period, and a stricter administration of justice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolsey in a speech to parliament, represented it as a proof of the increase of riches, that the customs had increased beyond what they were formerly ^E.

BUT if there was really a decay of commerce and industry, and populousness in England, the statutes of this

^D 3 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

^E Hall, folio 110.

CHAP. this reign, except by abolishing monasteries, retrenching
 XXXIII. holidays, a circumstance of considerable moment, were
 not in other respects well calculated to remedy the evil.

1547. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted ^F:
 Luxury in apparel was prohibited, by repeated statutes ^G;
 and probably without success. The chancellor and other
 ministers were empowered to fix the price of poultry,
 cheese, and butter ^H. A statute was even passed to fix
 the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal ^I. Beef and
 pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound:
 Mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing. The
 preamble of the statute says, that these four species of
 butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This
 act was afterwards repealed ^K.

THE practice of depopulating the country, by abandon-
 ing tillage, and throwing the lands into pasturage, still
 continued ^L; as appears by the new laws which were,
 from time to time, enacted against that practice. The
 king was entitled to half the rents of the land, where
 any farm houses were allowed to go to decay ^M. The
 unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the pro-
 prietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep
 allowed to be kept in one flock, was restrained to two
 thousand ^N. Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor
 or farmer would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand.
 It is remarkable, that the parliament ascribes the increas-
 ing price of sheep and mutton, to this increase of sheep:
 Because, says they, the commodity being got into few
 hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure ^O. It is proba-
 ble, that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of
 money: For it is impossible, that such a commodity could
 be monopolized.

IN the year 1544, it appears that an acre of good
 land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fif-
 teen pence of our present money ^P. This was ten times
 cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities
 were not above three times cheaper: A certain proof of
 the bad husbandry in that age.

SOME

^F 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ^G 1 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 6 Hen.
 VIII. c. 1. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 7. ^H 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
^I 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3. ^K 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11. ^L Strype,
 vol. i. p. 392. ^M 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 7 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
^N 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ^O Ibid. ^P Anderson. vol. i.
 p. 374.

SOME laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants ^Q; one of the circumstances in government, which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner, as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary. C H A P. XXXIII.
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IN 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent.; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans on interest were regarded as usury. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal: And the prejudices still remained so strong, that this law, permitting interest, was repealed in the subsequent reign.

THIS reign, as well as many of the foregoing and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general ^R. There remain still too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign, the corporations, which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut by act of parliament; and every one was prohibited to exercise any trade, who was not of the corporation ^S.

HENRY, as he possessed himself some talents for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity college in Cambridge, and gave it very ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal college: But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues; and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that great minister, is said to have given him the greatest anxiety and concern ^T. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into the most violent factions,

^Q 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 5. ^R 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 24. ^S 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 20. ^T Strype, vol. i. p. 117.

C H A P. factions, which frequently came to blows. The students
 XXXIII. divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of
 { Greeks and Trojans, and sometimes fought with as great
 1547. animosity as was formerly exercised by those hostile na-
 tions. A new and more correct method of pronouncing
 Greek, being introduced into the universities, it divided
 also the Grecians themselves into parties; and it was re-
 marked, that the catholics favoured the former pronun-
 ciation, the protestants gave countenance to the new.
 Gardiner employed the authority of the king and coun-
 cil to suppress innovations in this particular, and to pre-
 serve the old sound to the Greek alphabet. The rise of
 the Greek language in Oxford, excited the emulation of
 Cambridge ^u. Wolsey intended to have enriched the
 library of his college at Oxford, with copies of all the
 manuscripts that were in the Vatican ^w. The counte-
 nance given to letters by this king and his ministers, con-
 tributed to render learning fashionable in England; and
 Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general re-
 gard paid by the nobility and gentry of that kingdom to
 men of knowledge ^x. It is needless to be particular in
 mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding.
 There is no man in that age, who has the least preten-
 sion to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More,
 though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to
 that character.

^u Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon, lib. i. p. 245.
 249. ^x Epist. ad Banisium. Also epist. p. 368.

^w Ibid.

C H A P. XXXIV.

E D W A R D VI.

State of the regency. — Innovations in the regency. — Somerset protector. — Reformation completed. — Gardiner's opposition. — Foreign affairs. — Progress of the reformation in Scotland. — Assassination of cardinal Beaton. — Conduct of the war with Scotland. — Battle of Pinky. — A parliament. — Farther progress of the reformation. — Affairs of Scotland. — Young queen of Scots sent into France. — Cabals of lord Seymour. — Dudley earl of Warwick. — A parliament. — Attainder of lord Seymour. His execution. — Ecclesiastical affairs.

THE late king, by the regulations, which he imposed on the government of his infant son, as well as by the limitations of the succession, had projected to reign even after his decease; and he imagined, that his ministers, who had always been so obsequious to him during his life-time, would never afterwards depart from the plan, which he had traced out to them. He fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and as Edward was then only a few months past nine, he appointed sixteen executors; to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom. Their names were, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; lord Wriothesely, chancellor; lord St. John, great master; lord Russel, privy seal; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; viscount Lisle, admiral; Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, master of horse; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas; judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. To those executors, with whom was entrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with

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State of
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their

CHAP. their advice, when any affair was laid before them. The
XXXIV. council was composed of the earls of Arundel and Essex;

1547. Sir Thomas Cheney, treasurer of the household; Sir John Gage, comptroller; Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain; Sir William Petre, secretary of state; Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Richard Southwel, and Sir Edward Peckham ^A. The usual caprice of Henry appears somewhat in this nomination; while he appointed several persons of inferior station among his executors, and gave only the place of counsellor to a person of such high rank as the earl of Arundel, and to Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle.

*Innovati-
ons in the
regency.*

BUT the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the designation of the late king in a material article. No sooner were they met, than it was suggested, that the government would lose its dignity, for want of some head, who might represent the royal majesty, who might receive addresses from foreign ambassadors, to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad might be carried, and whose name might be employed in all orders and proclamations: And as the king's will seemed to labour under a defect in this particular, it was concluded necessary to supply it, by choosing a protector; who, though he should possess all the exterior symbols of royal dignity, should yet be bound, in every exercise of power, to follow the opinion of the executors ^B. This proposal was very disagreeable to chancellor Wriothesley. That magistrate, a man of an active spirit and high ambition, found himself, by his office, entitled to the first rank in the regency after the primate; and as he knew, that this prelate had no talent nor inclination for state affairs, he hoped, that the direction of public business would of course devolve in a great measure upon himself. He opposed, therefore, this proposal of choosing a protector; and represented that innovation as an infringement of the king's will, which, being corroborated by act of parliament, ought in every thing to be law to them, and could not be altered but by the same authority, which had established it. But he seems to have stood alone in the opposition. The executors and counsellors were mostly courtiers,

^A Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 457.

^B Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

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courtiers, who had been raised by Henry's favour, not men of high birth or great hereditary influence; and as they had been sufficiently accustomed to submission during the reign of the late monarch, and had no pretensions to govern the nation by their own authority, they acquiesced the more willingly in a proposal, which seemed calculated for preserving public peace and tranquillity. It being therefore agreed to name a protector, the choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest, which might engage him to endanger Edward's person or his authority^c. The public were informed by proclamation of this change in the administration; and dispatches were sent to all foreign courts to give them intimation of it. All those possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and took out new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions, that they held their office during pleasure^d: And it is there expressly affirmed, that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown^e.

THE executors shewed, in their next measure, a more submissive deference to Henry's will; because many of them found their own account in it. The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those who had fallen by former attainders, or the failure of issue; and that he might enable the persons to support their new dignity, he had resolved, either to bestow estates on them, or advance them to higher offices. He had even gone so far as to inform them of this resolution; and in his will, he charged his executors to make good all his promises^f. That they might ascertain his intentions in the most authentic manner, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, with whom Henry had always conversed in a familiar manner, were called before the

Q 2

board

^c Heylin, Hist. Ref. Edw. VI. ^d Collier, vol. ii. p. 218.
Burnet, vol. ii. p. 6. Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 141. ^e Ibid.
^f Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer.

CHAP. board of regency; and having given evidence of what
 XXXIV. they knew concerning the king's promises, their testi-
 1547. mony was relied on, and the executors proceeded to the fulfilling these engagements. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, marshal and lord treasurer; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; the earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton; viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudley, and admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Edward Sheffield, accepted the title of baron^G. Several, to whom the same dignity was offered, refused it; because the other part of the king's promise, the bestowing of estates on these new noblemen, was deferred till a more convenient opportunity. Some of them, however, particularly Somerset the protector, were, in the mean time, endowed with spiritual preferments, deaneries and prebends. For among many other invasions of ecclesiastical privileges and properties, this irregular practice, of bestowing spiritual benefices on laymen, began now to prevail.

THE earl of Southampton had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset; and it was not likely that factions, which had secretly prevailed; even during the arbitrary reign of Henry, should be suppressed in the weak administration, which usually attends a minority. The former nobleman, that he might have the greater leisure for attending to state-affairs, had, of himself and from his own authority, put the great seal in commission, and had empowered four lawyers, Southwel, Tregonel, Oliver, and Bellasis, to execute in his absence the office of chancellor. This measure seems very exceptionable; and the more so, as two of the commissioners being canonists, the lawyers suspected, that, by this nomination, the chancellor had intended to discredit the common law. Complaints were made to the council; who, influenced by the protector, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to depress Southampton. They consulted the judges with regard to so unusual a case, and received for answer, that the commission was illegal, and that the chancellor, by his presumption in granting it, had justly forfeited the great seal, and was even liable to punishment. The council summoned him to appear before them; and tho' he

^G Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

he maintained, that he held his office by the late king's will, founded on an act of parliament, and could not lose it without a trial before the parliament; that if the commission, which he had granted, was found illegal, it might be declared null and void, and all the ill consequences of it be easily remedied; and that the depriving him of his office for an error of this nature, was a precedent by which any other innovation might be authorized; the council, notwithstanding these topics of defence, declared that he had forfeited the great seal; that a fine should be imposed upon him; and that he should be confined to his own house during pleasure ^H.

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THE removal of Southampton increased the protector's authority, as well as tended to suppress factions in the regency; yet was not Somerset contented with this advantage: His ambition carried him to seek still farther acquisitions. On pretence, that the vote of the executors, choosing him protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Harry the eighth, produced a total revolution in the government, and may seem even to have subverted all the laws of the kingdom. He named himself protector with full regal power, and appointed a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, and all the executors, except Southampton: He reserved a power of naming any other counsellors at pleasure: and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. The protector and his council were likewise empowered to act at discretion, and to execute whatever they thought serviceable to the government, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture from any law, statute, proclamation, or ordinance whatsoever ¹. Even had this patent been less exorbitant in its concessions, and had it been drawn by directions from the executors appointed by Henry, its legality might justly be questioned; since it seems essential to a trust of this nature to be exercised by the persons entrusted, and not to admit of a delegation to others: But as the patent by its very tenor, where the executors are not so much as mentioned, appears to have been surreptitiously obtained from a minor king, the protectorship of Somerset was a plain

^H Holingshed, p. 979. ¹ Burnet, vol. ii. Records, N^o. 6.

CHAP. a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify. The connivance, however, of the executors, and their present acquiescence in the new establishment, made it be universally submitted to; and as the young king discovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was also in the main a man of moderation and probity, no objections were made to his power and title. All men of sense, likewise, who saw the nation divided by the religious zeal of the opposite sects, deemed it the more necessary to entrust the government to one person, who might check the exorbitancies of party, and ensure the public tranquillity. And though some clauses of the patent seemed to imply a formal subversion of all liberty or limited government, so little jealousy was then usually entertained on that head, that no exception was ever taken at bare claims or pretensions of this nature, advanced by any person, possessed of sovereign power. The actual exercise alone of arbitrary administration, and that in many great and flagrant and unpopular instances, was able sometimes to give some umbrage to the nation.

*Reformati-
on com-
pleted.*

THE extensive authority and imperious character of Henry, had retained the partizans of both religions in subjection; but upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants and the fears of the catholics began to revive, and the zeal of these parties produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes of more fatal divisions. The protector had long been regarded as the secret partizan of the reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the antient religion, and of adopting still more of the protestant innovations. He took care, that all persons, entrusted with the king's education, should be attached to the same principles; and as the young prince discovered a zeal for every kind of literature, especially the theological, far beyond his tender years, all men foresaw, in the course of his reign, the total abolition of the catholic faith; and they early began to declare themselves in favour of those tenets, which were likely to become in the end entirely prevalent. After Southampton's fall, few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion; and most of the counsellors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the reformation. The riches, which most of them had acquired from the spoils of

of the clergy, induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable ^{CH A P. XXXIV.} ^{1547.} Their rapacity also, the chief source of their reforming spirit, was excited by the prospect of pillaging the secular, as they had already done the regular clergy; and they knew, that, while any share of the old principles remained, or any regard to the ecclesiastics, they never could hope to succeed in their enterprizes.

THE numerous and burthenfome superstitions, with which the Romish church was loaded, had thrown many of the reformers, by the spirit of opposition, into an enthusiastic strain of devotion; and all rites, ceremonies, pomp, order, and exterior observances, were zealously abolished by them, as hindrances of their spiritual contemplations, and obstructions to their immediate converse with heaven. Many circumstances concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making profelytes, the furious persecutions to which they were exposed, their animosity against the antient tenets and practices, and the necessity of procuring the concurrence of the laity, by depressing the hierarchy, and by tendering to them the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Wherever the reformation prevailed over the opposition of civil authority, this genius of religion appeared in its full extent, and was attended with consequences, which, tho' less durable, were, for some time, no less dangerous than those connected with the antient superstition. But as the magistrate took the lead in England, the transition was more gradual; much of the antient religion was still preserved; and a reasonable degree of subordination was retained in discipline, as well as some pomp, order, and ceremony in public worship.

THE protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the councils of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse from all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline, which he deemed the most pure and perfect. He probably also foresaw, that a system, which carefully avoided the extremes of reformation, was likely to be most lasting; and that a devotion,

* Goodwin's Annals. Heylin.

CHAP. XXXIV. votion, merely spiritual, was fitted only for the first fervours of a new sect, and upon the relaxation of these naturally gave place to the inroads of superstition. He

1547. seems therefore to have intended the establishment of a hierarchy, which, being suited to a great and settled government, might stand as a perpetual barrier against Rome, and might retain the reverence of the people, even after their enthusiastic zeal was diminished or entirely evaporated.

Gardiner's opposition. THE person, who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, though he had not obtained a place in the council of regency, on account of late disgusts, which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. This prelate continued still to magnify the great wisdom and learning of the late king, which, indeed, were generally and sincerely admired by the nation; and he insisted on the prudence of persevering, at least till the young king's majority, in the ecclesiastical model, established by that great monarch. He defended the use of images, which were now very openly attacked by the protestants; and he represented them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude ^A. He even deigned to write an apology for *holy water*, which bishop Ridley had decried in a sermon; and he maintained, that, by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of our Saviour's garment, or the spittle and clay laid upon the eyes of the blind ^B. Above all, he insisted, that the laws ought to be observed, that the constitution ought to be preserved inviolate, and that it was dangerous to follow the will of the sovereign, in opposition to an act of parliament ^C.

BUT though there remained at that time in England an idea of laws and a constitution, sufficient at least to furnish a topic of argument to such as were discontented with the present exercise of authority; this plea could scarcely, in the present case, be maintained with any plausibility by Gardiner. An act of parliament had invested

^A Fox, vol. ii. p. 712.
vol. ii. p. 228. Fox, vol. ii.

^B Ibid. p. 724.

^C Collier,

vested the crown with a legislative power; and royal proclamations, even during a minority, were armed with the force and authority of laws. The protector, finding himself supported by this statute, was determined to employ his influence in favour of the reformers; and having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, he appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England^B. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purpose of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the antient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. The moderation of Somerset and Cranmer is apparent in the conduct of this delicate affair. The visitors were enjoined to retain for the present all images which had not been abused to idolatry; and to instruct the people not to despise such ceremonies as were not yet abrogated, but only to beware of some particular superstitions, such as the sprinkling their beds with holy water, the ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles, in order to drive away the devil^F.

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BUT nothing required more the correcting hand of authority, than the abuse of preaching, which was now generally employed, throughout England, in defending the antient practices and superstitions. The court of augmentations, in order to ease the exchequer of the annuities paid to monks, had commonly placed them in the vacant churches; and these men were led by interest, as well as by inclination, to support those principles, which had been invented for the profit of the clergy. Orders therefore were given to restrain the topics of their sermons: Twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people: And all of them were prohibited, without express permission, to preach any where but in their parish churches. The purpose of this injunction was to throw a restraint on the catholic divines; while the protestant, by the grant of particular licences, should be allowed unbounded liberty.

BONNER made some opposition to these measures; but soon after retracted and acquiesced. Gardiner was more

^B Mem. Cranm. p. 146, 147, &c. ^F Burnet, vol. ii. p. 28.

C H A P. more high-spirited and more steady. He represented the
 XXXIV. peril of perpetual innovations, and the necessity of ad-
 1547. hering to some system. " 'Tis a dangerous thing," said
 he, " to use too much freedom, in researches of this
 " kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to
 " run further than you have a mind to. If you indulge
 " the humour of novelty, you cannot put a stop to peo-
 " ple's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at plea-
 " sure. For my part," said he, on another occasion,
 " my sole concern is to manage the third and last act of
 " my life with decency, and to make a handsome exit
 " off the stage. Provided this point is secured, I am
 " not solicitous about the rest. I am already by nature
 " condemned to death: No man can give me a pardon
 " from this sentence; nor so much as procure me a re-
 " prieve. To speak my mind, and to act as my con-
 " science directs, are two branches of liberty, which I
 " can never part with. Sincerity in speech, and integri-
 " ty in action, are entertaining qualities: They will stick
 " by a man, when every thing else takes its leave; and
 " I must not resign them upon any consideration. The
 " best on it is, if I do not throw them away myself no
 " man can force them from me: But if I give them up,
 " then am I ruined by myself, and deserve to lose all my
 " preferments.^G" This opposition of Gardiner drew on
 him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to
 the Fleet, where he was used with some harshness and
 severity.

ONE of the chief objections, urged by Gardiner a-
 gainst the new homilies, was that they defined, with the
 most metaphysical precision, the doctrines of grace, and
 of justification by faith; points, he thought, which it
 was superfluous for any man to know exactly, and which
 certainly much exceeded the comprehension of the vul-
 gar. A famous martyrologist calls Gardiner, on account
 of this opinion, " An insensible ass, and one that had no
 " feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification^H." The meanest protestant imagined, at that time, that he
 had a full comprehension of all those mysterious doctrines,
 and he heartily despised the most learned and knowing
 person of the antient religion, who acknowledged his ig-
 norance

^G Collier, vol. ii. p. 228. ex. MS. Col. C. C. Cantab. Bibli-
 otheca Britannica, article GARDINER. ^H Fox, vol. ii.

norance with regard to them. It is indeed certain, that the reformers were very fortunate in their doctrine of justification, and might venture to expect its success, in opposition to all the ceremonies, shows, and superstitions of popery. By exalting Christ and his sufferings, and renouncing all claim to independent merit in ourselves, it was calculated to become popular, and coincided with those principles of panegyric and of self-abasement, which generally have place in religion.

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TONSTAL, bishop of Durham, having as well as Gardiner, made some opposition to the new regulations, was dismissed the council-board; but no farther severity was, for the present, exercised against him. He was a man of perfect moderation, and of the most unexceptionable character in the kingdom.

THE same religious zeal, which engaged Somerset to promote the reformation at home, led him to carry his attention to foreign countries; where the interests of the protestants were now exposed to the most imminent danger. The Roman pontiff, with much reluctance and after long delays, had at last summoned a general council, which was assembled at Trent, and was employed, both in correcting the abuses of the church, and in ascertaining her doctrines. The emperor, who desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as gain over the protestants, promoted the former object of the council; the pope, who found his own greatness so deeply interested, desired rather to employ them in the latter. He gave instructions to his legates, who presided in the council, to protract the debates, and to engage the theologians in altercations, and arguments, and disputes concerning the nice points of faith, canvassed before them: A policy, so easy to be executed, that the legates soon found it rather necessary to interpose, in order to appease the animosity of the divines, and bring them at last to some decision¹. The more difficult task for the legates was to moderate or divert the zeal of the council for reformation, and to repress the ambition of the prelates, who desired to exalt the episcopal authority on the ruins of the sovereign pontiff. Finding this humour become prevalent, the legates, on pretence that the plague had broken out at Trent, transferred of a sudden the council

to

¹ Father Paul, lib. 2.

CHAP. to Bologna, where, they hoped, it would be more under
XXXIV. the direction of his holiness.

1547. THE emperor, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany; but found it necessary to cover his intentions under a deep artifice, and to prevent the combination of his adversaries. He separated the Palatine and the elector of Brandenburg from the protestant confederacy: He took arms against the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse: By the fortune of war he made the former prisoner: He employed treachery and prevarication against the latter, and detained him captive, by breaking a safe-conduct which he had granted him. He seemed to have reached the summit of his ambition; and the German princes, who were astonished with his success, were farther discouraged by the intelligence, which they had received, of the death, first of Henry the eighth, then of Francis the first, their usual resources in every calamity ^K.

HENRY the second, who succeeded to the crown of France, was a prince of vigour and ability; but less prompt in his resolutions than Francis, and less enflamed with rivalry and animosity against the emperor, Charles. Though he sent ambassadors to the princes of the Smalcaldic league, and promised them protection, he was unwilling, in the commencement of his reign, to hurry into a war against so great a power as that of the emperor; and he thought that the alliance of these princes was a sure resource, which he could at any time lay hold of ^L. He was much governed by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen dowager of Scotland; and he hearkened to their counsel, in choosing rather to give immediate assistance to that antient ally, which, even before the death of Henry the eighth, had loudly claimed the protection of the French monarchy.

*Progress of
the reformation in
Scotland.*

THE hatred between the two factions, the partizans of the antient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent in Scotland; and the resolution, which the cardinal primate had taken, to employ the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishwart, a

gentleman

^K Sleidan.

^L Pere Daniel.

gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the antient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning: But these praises cannot be much depended on; because, we know, that, among the reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues; and the age was in general so ignorant, that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted the Old alone was the word of God^M. But however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation; and he enjoyed those talents, which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation, that they had dared to reject him, together with the word of God, menaced them, in imitation of the antient prophets, with some imminent calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes. Meanwhile, a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed, that the town had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease, till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition, than he returned to them, and made them a new tender of his doctrine: but lest he should spread the contagion, by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate: The infected stood within; the others without. And the preacher failed not, in such a situation, to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission^N.

THE

^M See note at the end of the volume.
Ref. p. 44. Spotswood.

^N Knox's Hist. of

CHAP. THE assiduity and success of Wishart became an object of attention to cardinal Beaton; and he resolved by XXXIV. the punishment of so celebrated a preacher, to strike 1547. a terror into all other innovators. He engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest him in his retirement; and to deliver him into his hands, contrary to a promise given by Bothwell to that unhappy man: And being possessed of his prey, he conducted him to St. Andrew's, where, after a trial, he condemned him to the flames for heresy. Arran, the regent, was very irresolute in his temper; and the cardinal, though he had gained him to his party, found, that he would not concur in the condemnation and execution of Wishart. He determined, therefore, without the assistance of the secular arm, to bring that heretic to punishment; and he himself beheld from his windows the dismal spectacle. Wishart suffered with the usual patience; but could not forbear remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy. He foretold, that, in a few days, he should in the very same place, lie as low, as he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion^o.

Assassination of cardinal Beaton.

THIS prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event, which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal; and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprize with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified; and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out an hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions; and having shut the gates, they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle; and had barricadoed the door of his chamber: But finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and having obtained, as is believed, a promise of life, he opened the door; and reminding them, that he was a priest, he conjured them to spare him. Two of the assassins rushed upon him with drawn swords; but a third, James Melvil, more calm and more considerate in villainy, stopped their career, and bid them reflect, that this sacrifice was the work and judgment

• Spotswood, Buchanan.

judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beaton, he called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, but especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands: It is his death, which now cries vengeance upon thee: we are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest, that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death: But only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Christ Jesus, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beaton leisure to finish that repentance, to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body; and the cardinal fell dead at his feet^p. This murder was executed on the 28th of May, 1546. The assassins, being reinforced by their friends to the number of an hundred and forty persons, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to London, craving assistance from Henry. That prince, though Scotland was comprehended in his peace with France, would not forego this opportunity of disturbing the government of that kingdom; and he agreed to take them under his protection.

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IT was the peculiar misfortune of Scotland, that five short reigns had been successively followed by as many long minorities; and the execution of justice, which the prince was beginning to introduce, had been continually interrupted by the cabals, factions and animosities of the great. But besides these inveterate and ancient evils, a new source of disorder had arisen, the disputes and contentions

^p The famous Scots reformer, John Knox, calls James Melvil, p. 65, a man most gentle and most modest. It is very horrid, but at the same time somewhat amusing, to consider the joy and alacrity and pleasure, which that historian discovers in his narration of this assassination: And it is remarkable that in the first edition of his work, these words were printed on the margin of the page, *The godly Fact and Words of James Melvin*. But the following editors retrenched them. Knox himself had no hand in the murder of Beaton; but he afterwards joined the assassins, and assisted them in holding out the castle. See Keith's Hist. of the Ref. of Scotland, p. 43.

CH A P. tentions of theology, which were sufficient to disturb the
 XXXIV. most settled government; and the death of the cardinal,
 who was possessed of ability and vigour, seemed much
 1547. to weaken the hands of the administration. But the
 queen-dowager was a woman of uncommon talents
 and virtues; and she did as much to support the go-
 vernment, and supply the weakness of Arran, the go-
 vernor, as could be expected in her situation. A sti-
 pulation was made with the garrison of St. Andrews,
 that they should surrender the castle upon receiving a
 pardon, together with an absolution from the pope; and
 that they should never afterwards be called in question
 for Beaton's assassination. Meanwhile, till the pope's
 absolution should arrive, she applied to France for suc-
 cours; and Henry sent her some gallies, with a train of
 artillery, commanded by Strozzi, prior of Capua. Be-
 fore the siege of St. Andrews was opened, the absolution
 was sent to the garrison, and they were required to sur-
 render; but because the pope, among other exaggerations
 of the cardinal's murder, had said, that he pardoned an
 unpardonable crime, the garrison, fearing that this ex-
 pression was employed in order to ensnare them, refused
 to open their gates. They were, however, soon obliged
 to depart from their obstinacy: A great breach was made
 in the walls: The plague broke out among them: And
 seeing no hopes of succour from England, they surren-
 dered to the French upon conditions, which were not very
 scrupulously observed to them.

Conduct of the war with Scotland. THE protector of England, so soon as the government
 was brought to some composure, made preparations for
 the attack of Scotland; and he was determined to exe-
 cute, if possible, that project of uniting the two king-
 doms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent,
 and which he had recommended with his dying breath to
 his executors. He raised an army of 18,000 men, and equip-
 ped a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war,
 the other loaded with provisions and ammunition. He gave
 the command of the fleet to lord Clinton: He himself
 marched at the head of the army, attended by the earl
 of Warwic. These hostile measures were covered with
 a pretence of revenging some depredations committed by
 the borderers; but besides, that the protector revived the
 antient

℞ Knox, p. 75. Spotswood. Buchanan.

antient claim of the superiority of the English-crown over that of Scotland, he refused to enter into a negotiation on any other condition than the marriage of the young queen with Edward.

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THE protector, before opening the campaign, published a manifesto, in which he enforced all the arguments for that measure. He said, that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out the inhabitants the road to happiness and security: That the education and customs of the people concurred with nature; and by giving them the same language, and laws, and manners, had invited them to a thorough union and coalition: That fortune had at last removed all obstacles, and had prepared an expedient, by which they might become one people, without leaving any place for that jealousy either of honour or of interest, to which rival nations are naturally so much exposed: That the crown of Scotland had devolved to a female; that of England to a male; and happily the two sovereigns, as of a rank, were also of an age, the most suitable to each other: That the hostile disposition, which prevailed between the nations, and which arose from past injuries, would soon be extinguished, after a long and secure peace had established confidence between them: That the memory of former miseries, which at present inflamed their mutual animosity, would then serve only to make them cherish, with more passion, a state of happiness and tranquillity, so long unknown to their ancestors: That when hostilities had ceased between the kingdoms, the Scots nobility, who were at present obliged to remain perpetually in a warlike posture, would learn to cultivate the arts of peace, and would soften their minds to a love of domestic order and obedience: That as this situation was desirable to both kingdoms, so particularly to Scotland, which had been exposed to the greatest miseries from intestine and foreign wars, and saw herself every moment in danger of losing her independency, by the efforts of a richer and more powerful people: That though England had claims of superiority, she was willing to resign every pretension for the sake of peace, and desired an union, which would be the more secure, as it would be concluded on terms entirely equal: And that,

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besides

CHAP. besides all these motives, positive engagements had been
 XXXIV. taken for the compleating this alliance, and the honour
 and good faith of the nation were pledged to fulfil what
 1547. her interest and safety so loudly demanded^R.

SOMERSET soon perceived, that these remonstrances would have no influence; and that the queen dowager's attachment to France and to the catholic religion would render ineffectual all negociations for the intended marriage. He found himself, therefore, obliged to try the force of arms, and to constrain the Scots by necessity to submit to a measure, for which they seemed to have entertained the most incurable aversion. He passed the borders at Berwic, and advanced towards Edinburgh, without meeting any resistance for some days, except from some small castles, which were constrained to surrender at discretion. The protector intended to have punished the governor and garrison of one of those castles for their temerity in resisting such an unequal force: But they eluded his anger by asking only a few hours respite; till they should prepare themselves for death; after which they found his ears more open to their applications for mercy^S.

THE governor of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double the number of the English, had taken post on very advantageous ground, guarded by the banks of the Eske, about four miles from Edinburgh. The English came within sight of them at Faside: and after a skirmish between the horse, where the Scots were worsted, and lord Hume dangerously wounded, Somerset prepared himself for a more decisive action. But having taken a view of the Scots camp with the earl of Warwic, he found it difficult to make an attempt upon it with any probability of success. He wrote, therefore, another letter to Arran; and offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all damages which he had committed, provided the Scots would stipulate not to contrail the queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, till she reached the age of chusing a husband for herself. Such moderate terms were rejected by the Scots, merely on account of their moderation; and they began an opinion,

^R Sir John Haywood in Kennet, p. 279. Heylin, p. 42.
^S Haywood. Patten.

nion, that the protector must either be reduced to great distress or be influenced by fear, that he was contented to abate so much of his former pretensions. Actuated also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed, that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. They were confirmed in this fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea; nor did they any longer doubt, that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay, opposite to him^T. Determined therefore to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and passing the river Eske, advanced into the plain. They were divided into three bodies: Angus commanded the vanguard; Arran the main body; Huntley the rear: Their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were placed on their left flank, strengthened by some Irish archers, whom Argyle had brought over for this service.

SOMERSET was pleased when he saw this movement of the Scots army; and as the English had usually been superior in pitched battles, he conceived great hopes of success. He arranged his van on the left, farthest from the sea; and ordered them to remain on the high grounds on which he placed them, till the enemy should approach. He placed his main battle and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Grey at the head of the men at arms, and ordered him to take the Scots van in flank, but not till they should be engaged in close fight with the van of the English.

WHILE the Scots were advancing on the plain, they were galled with the artillery from the English ships: The master of Graham was killed; the Irish archers were thrown into disorder; and even the other troops began to stagger: When lord Grey, perceiving their situation, neglected his orders, left his ground, and at the head of his heavy-armed horse made an attack on the Scots infantry, in hopes of gaining to himself all the honour of the victory. On advancing, he found a slough and ditch in his way; and behind were ranged the Scots infantry armed with spears, and the field, on which they

S 2

stood,

^T Holingshed, p. 985.

CHAP. flood, was fallow ground, broken with ridges, which lay
 XXXIV. across their front, and disordered the movements of the
 English cavalry. From all these accidents, the shock of
 1547. this body of horse was feeble and irregular; and as they
 were received on the points of the Scottish spears, which
 were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, they
 were in a moment pierced, overthrown, and discomfited.
 Grey himself was dangerously wounded: Lord Edward
 Seymour, son to the protector, lost his horse: The
 standard was near being taken: And had the Scots pos-
 sessed any good body of cavalry, who could have pursued
 the advantage, the whole English army had been ex-
 posed to great danger ^x.

THE protector mean-while, assisted by Sir Ralph Sad-
 ler and Sir Ralph Vane, employed himself with dili-
 gence and success, in rallying the cavalry. Warwick
 shewed great presence of mind in maintaining the ranks
 of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled: He made
 Sir Peter Meutas advance, captain of the foot harque-
 busiers, and Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of some Italian
 and Spanish harquebusiers, on horseback; and ordered
 them to ply the Scots infantry with their shot. They
 marched to the slough, and discharged their pieces full
 in the face of the enemy: The artillery, planted on a
 height, infested them from the front: The English arch-
 ers poured in a shower of arrows upon them: And the
 vanguard, descending from the hill, advanced, leisurely
 and orderly, towards them. Dismayed with all those cir-
 cumstances, the Scots van began to retreat: The retreat
 soon changed into a flight, which was begun by the Irish
 archers. The panic of the van communicated itself to
 the main body, and passing thence to the rear, rendered
 the whole field a scene of confusion, terror, flight and
 consternation. The English army perceived from the
 heights the condition of the Scots, and began the pursuit
 with loud shouts and acclamations, which added still more
 to the dismay of the vanquished. The horse in particu-
 lar, eager to revenge the affront, which they had re-
 ceived in the beginning of the day, did the most bloody
 execution on the flying enemy; and from the field of
 battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole
 ground was strowed with dead bodies. The priests above
 all, and the monks received no quarter; and the English
 made

^x Patten. Holingshed, p. 986

made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprise so ill suited to their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with smaller loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English; and according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thousand of the Scots. About fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

G H A P.
XXXIV.

1547.

THE queen dowager and Arran fled to Stirling, and were scarce able to collect such a body of forces as could check the incursions of small parties of the English. About the same time, the earl of Lenox and lord Wharton entered the West Marches, at the head of five thousand men, and after taking and plundering Annan, they spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties^y. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantage, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scots nation: But he was impatient to return to England, where, he heard, some counsellors, and even his own brother, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Having taken the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcastle, Roxborough, and some other small places; and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired from Scotland. The fleet, besides destroying all the ships along the coast, took Broughty in the Firth of Tay; and having fortified it, they left there a garrison. Arran desired leave to send commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and Somerset, having appointed Berwic for the place of conference, left Warwick with full powers to negotiate: But no commissioners from Scotland ever appeared. The overture of the Scots was an artifice, to gain time, till succours should arrive from France.

THE protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament: And being somewhat elated with his success against the Scots, he procured from his nephew a patent, appointing him to sit on the throne, upon a stool or bench at the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges, which had usually been possessed by any prince of the blood, or uncle of the kings of England. In this patent, the king dispensed with the statute of pre-

4th Nov.

cedency,

^y Holingshed, p. 992.

CHAP. XXXIV. cedency, enacted during the former reign ^z. But if Somerset gave offence by assuming too much state, he deserves the highest praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigour of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the constitution. All laws were repealed, which extended the crime of treason beyond the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the third ^a; all laws enacted during the late reign, extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardies or heresy, together with the statute of the six articles. None were to be accused of words, but within a month after they were spoken. By these repeals several of the most rigorous laws, that ever had passed in England, were annulled; and some dawning^s, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. Heresy, however, was still a capital crime by the common law, and was subjected to the penalty of burning. Only there remained no precise standard, by which that crime could be defined or determined: A circumstance, which might either be advantageous or hurtful to public security, according to the disposition of the judges.

1547.
A parliament.

A REPEAL also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute ^b. That other law was likewise mitigated, by which the king was empowered to annul all laws passed before the four and twentieth year of his age: He could prevent their future execution; but could not recal any past effects, which had ensued from them ^c.

SOME statutes too were enacted which were of the utmost importance, because they promoted the principles and practices of the reformers, though they may not, all of them, appear to be attended with any material consequence to civil society. The cup was restored to the laity; private masses were abolished; the king was empowered to create bishops by letters patent, without any fictitious election of the chapter; the bishops were ordered to issue their writs, and hold their courts in the king's name ^d; vagabonds were adjudged to be slaves for two

^z Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

^a 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

Edw. VI. c. 2.

^c 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.

^d Edw. VI. c. 4.

two years, and to be marked with a red hot iron^N; an act commonly supposed to be levelled against the strolling priests and friars. CHAP. XXXIV.

THE chantries and free chapels had been given by act of parliament to the late king; and he had appointed commissioners to take possession of the revenues; but as they had not proceeded far in the execution of their office, it was found necessary to make a renewal of the grant. The preamble to the statute promises, that these funds should be employed to good and godly uses, in erecting grammar schools, in farther augmenting the universities, and in making better provision for the poor and needy^O. But the rapacious courtiers had already devoured the prey in their imaginations; and it was not long before it was shared out among them.

It was also enacted, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted the pope's, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; for the second offence, should incur the penalty of *præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of treason. But if any, after the first of March ensuing, endeavoured, by writing, printing, or any overt act or deed, to deprive the king of his estate or titles, particularly of his supremacy, or to confer them on any other, he was to be adjudged guilty of treason. If any of the heirs of the crown should usurp upon another, or endeavour to break the order of succession, it was declared treason in them, their aiders and abettors. These were the most considerable acts passed during this session. The members in general discovered a very passive disposition with regard to religion: Some few appeared zealous for the reformation: Others harboured secretly a strong inclination to the catholic faith: But the greatest part appeared willing to take any impression, which they should receive from interest, authority, or the reigning fashion^P.

THE convocation met at the same time with the parliament; and as it was found, that their debates were at first cramped by the rigour of the statute of the six articles, the king granted them a dispensation from that law, before it was repealed by parliament. The lower house of

^N 1 Edw. VI. c. 3. ^O 1 Edw. VI. c. 14. ^P Heylin, p. 48. Q Antiq. Britan. p. 339.

CH A P. of convocation applied to have liberty of sitting with the
 XXXIV. commons in parliament; or if this privilege was refused
 them, which they claimed as their antient right, they de-
 1547. fired, that no law, regarding religion, might pass in par-
 liament without their consent and approbation. But the
 principles, which now prevailed, were more advantage-
 ous to the civil than the ecclesiastical power; and this de-
 mand of the convocation was rejected.

*Farther
 progress of
 the refor-
 mation.*

THE protector had permitted the repeal of that law, which gave to the king's proclamations the authority of statutes; but he did not intend to renounce that arbitrary or discretionary exercise of power, which had ever been assumed by the crown, and which it is difficult to distinguish exactly from the power of making laws. He even continued to exert this authority in some particulars, which were then regarded as the most momentous. Orders were issued by council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-wednesday, palms on Palm-sunday^P. There were antient religious practices now denominated superstitions; though it is very fortunate for mankind, when superstition happens to take a direction so innocent and inoffensive. The severe disposition, which naturally attends all reformers, prompted likewise the council to abolish some gay and shewy ceremonies, which belonged to the antient religion.

AN order was also issued by council for the removal of all images from the churches: An innovation which was much desired by all the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a total change of the established religion^R. An attempt had been made to separate the use of images from their abuse, the reverence from the worship of them; but the execution of this design was found, upon trial, very difficult, if not wholly impracticable.

As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to frame a new communion-service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they had prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent^S. This was a prelude to the
 entire

^P Burnet, vol. ii. p. 59. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55. ^Q Burnet, vol. ii. ^R Burnet, vol. ii. p. 60. Collier, vol. ii. p. 241. Heylin, p. 55. ^S Burnet, vol. ii.

entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them. And it may justly be said, that, though the priest's absolution, which attends confession, serves somewhat to ease weak minds from the immediate agonies of superstitious terror, it operates only by enforcing superstition itself, and thereby preparing the mind for a more violent relapse into the same disorders.

THE people were at that time extremely distracted, by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable to judge of the reasons advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing which they heard at church, as of equal authority, a great confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remedy that inconvenience, by laying some restraints on preaching; but finding this expedient ineffectual, they imposed a total silence on the preachers, and thereby put an end at once to all the polemics of the pulpit^T. By the nature of things, this restraint could only be temporary. For in proportion as the ceremonies of public worship, its shows and exterior observances, were retrenched by the reformers, the people were inclined to contract a stronger attachment to sermons, whence alone they received any occupation or amusement. The antient religion, by giving its votaries something to do, freed them from the trouble of thinking: Sermons were only delivered in the principal churches, and at some particular fasts and festivals: And the practice of haranguing the populace, which, if abused, is so powerful an incitement to faction and sedition, had much less scope and influence during those ages.

THE greater progress was made towards a reformation in England, the further did the protector find himself from all prospect of completing the union with Scotland; and the queen-dowager, as well as the clergy, became the more averse to all alliance with a nation, which had departed so far from all antient principles. Somerset, having taken the town of Haddington, had ordered it to be strongly garrisoned and fortified, by lord Grey: He also erected some fortifications at Lauder: And he hoped, that these two places, together with Broughty and some smaller fortresses, which were in the hands of the

*Affairs of
Scotland.*

CHAP. the English, would serve as a curb to Scotland; and
 XXXIV. would give him access into the heart of the country.

1548.

ARRAN being disappointed in some attempts on Broughty, relied chiefly on the succours expected from France, for the recovery of these places; and they arrived at last in the Firth, to the number of six thousand men; one half of them Germans. They were commanded by Dessé, and under him by Anselot, Strozzi, Meilleraye, count Rhingrave. The Scots were at that time so sunk by their misfortunes, that five hundred English horse were able to ravage the whole country without resistance; and make inroads to the gates of the capital ^U. But on the appearance of the French succours, they collected more courage; and having joined Dessé with a considerable reinforcement, they laid siege to Haddington ^W. This was an undertaking for which they were themselves totally unfit; being only accustomed to a kind of desultory war, where they served without pay, and with a few weeks provisions, which they brought along with them. Even with the assistance of the French, they placed their chief hopes of success in starving the garrison; and after some vain attempts to take the place by a regular siege, the blockade of Haddington was formed. The garrison was repulsed with loss in several sallies which they made upon the besiegers.

THE hostile attempts, which the late king and the protector had made against Scotland, not being steady, regular, nor pushed to the last extremity, had served only to irritate the nation, and to inspire them with the strongest aversion to that confederacy, which was courted in so violent a manner. Even those who were inclined to the English alliance, were displeased to have it imposed on them by force of arms; and the earl of Huntley, in particular, said pleasantly, that he disliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing ^X. The queen-dowager, finding these sentiments to prevail, called a parliament, in an abbey near Haddington; and it was there proposed, that the young queen, for her greater security, should be sent to France, and be committed to the protection of that antient ally. Some objected, that this measure was desperate, allowed no re-
 source

^U Beagné. hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549. p. 6.

^W Holingshead, p. 993. ^X Heylin. p. 46. Patten.

Source in case of miscarriage, exposed the Scots to be subjected by foreigners, involved them in perpetual war with England, and left them no expedient, by which they could conciliate the friendship of that powerful nation. It was answered, on the other hand, that the queen's presence was the very cause of war with England; that that nation would desist, when they found, that their views of forcing a marriage had become altogether impracticable; and that Henry, being engaged by by so high a mark of confidence, would make their sovereign under his guardianship, and use his utmost efforts to defend the kingdom. These arguments were aided by French gold, which was plentifully distributed among the nobles. The governor had a pension conferred on him of twelve thousand livres an year, received the title of duke of Châtelrault, and obtained for his son the command of a hundred men at arms^Y. And as the clergy dreaded the consequences of the English alliance, they seconded this measure with all the zeal and industry, which either principles or interest could inspire. It was accordingly determined to send the queen to France; and what was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. Villegaignon, commander of four French gallies lying in the Firth of Forth, set sail as if he intended to return home; but when he reached the open sea, he returned northwards, passed by the Orkneys, and came on the west coast at Dunbarton: A very extraordinary voyage for ships of that fabric^Z. The young queen was there committed to him; and being attended with the lords Arskine and Livingstone, she put to sea, and after meeting with some tempestuous weather, arrived safely at Brest, whence she was conducted to Paris, and soon after she was betrothed to the dauphin.

SOMERSET, pressed by many difficulties at home, and despairing of success in his enterprize against Scotland, was desirous of composing the differences with that kingdom, and he offered the Scots a ten years truce; but as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. The Scots recovered the fortresses of Hume and Fast-castle by surprize, and put the garrison to the sword: They repulsed, with loss,

^Y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83. Buchanan, lib. xv. Keith, p. 55. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15. ^Z Thuanis, lib. v. c. 15.

CHAP. loss, the English, who, under the command of lord Sey-
 XXXIV. mour, made a descent, first in Fife, then at Montrose:
 1548. In the former action, James Stuart, natural brother to
 the queen, acquired honour; in the latter, Areskine of
 Dun. An attempt was made by Sir Robert Bowes and
 Sir Thomas Palmer, at the head of a considerable body,
 to throw relief into Haddington; but these troops falling
 into an ambuscade, were almost wholly cut in pieces^F.
 And though a small body of two hundred men escaped
 all the vigilance of the French, and arrived safely in Had-
 dington, with some ammunition and provisions, the gar-
 rison was reduced to such difficulties, that the protector
 found it necessary to provide more effectually for their
 relief. He raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and
 adding three thousand Germans, who, on the dissolution
 of the protestant alliance, had offered their service to
 England, he gave the command of the whole to the earl
 of Shrewsbury^G. D'Esse raised the blockade on the ap-
 proach of the English; and with great difficulty made
 good his retreat to Edinburgh, where he posted himself
 advantageously. Shrewsbury, who had lost the opportu-
 nity of attacking him on his march, durst not give him
 battle in his present situation; and contenting himself
 with the advantage already gained of supplying Hadding-
 ton, he retired into England.

WHILE the French troops remained in Scotland, ma-
 ny complaints had arisen between them and the natives;
 and a small accident^H having excited a tumult in Edin-
 burgh, the provost and his son were unfortunately killed
 by the French soldiers. This event encreased the ani-
 mosity between the two nations: But D'Essé, in order
 to make atonement for that act of violence, led his troops
 hastily to Haddington, and in the night-time attempted
 to surprise the town. He found the garrison unprepared
 to resist him; and he had already entered the outer court:
 But a French deserter firing a cannon, which pointed to-
 wards the gates, the shot fell among the thickest of the
 enemy, and made such havoc as threw the whole into
 confusion, and enabled the English to repulse them. It
 is pretended, that no less than a hundred persons fell by
 this single shot.

THE

^F Stowe, p. 595. Holingshed, p. 994.
 p. 291. ^H Beaugué, p. 68. Knox, p. 81.

^G Hayward,

THE French general was eminent for ability and experience; but as he had not the good fortune to be acceptable to the Scots nation, it was thought proper to recal him, and to send over De Thermes in his place. D'Essé, before his departure, fortified Leith, which, from a small village, soon became a considerable town, by the concurrence of inhabitants, who found there a security, which they could no where else enjoy in Scotland. He also attacked an English garrison in Inchkeith, an island opposite to that harbour, and made them prisoners. After these exploits, he resigned his command to De Thermes, who brought over with him Monluc, bishop of Valence, a man celebrated for wisdom and ability. This prelate was named chancellor of the kingdom; and it was probably intended, by his means, to inspire the nation with some greater attachment to the principles of law and equity: But the Scots, impatient of restraint, and jealous of a foreigner, expressed such discontent, that it was thought more prudent soon after to recal him¹.

CH'AP.
XXXIV.

1548.

THOUGH the protection of France was of great consequence to the Scots, in supporting them against the invasions of England, they reaped still more benefit from the distractions and divisions, which had crept into the councils of that latter kingdom. Even the two brothers, the protector and admiral, not content with the high stations which they severally enjoyed, and the great eminence to which they had arisen, had entertained the most violent jealousy of each other's authority; and they divided the whole court and kingdom, by their opposite cabals and pretensions. Lord Seymour was a man of insatiable ambition; arrogant, assuming, implacable; and though esteemed of superior capacity, to the protector, he possessed not to the same degree the confidence and regard of the people. By his flattery and address, he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late king: Inasmuch, that, had she soon proved pregnant, it might be doubtful to which husband the child belonged. The credit and riches of this alliance supported the ambition of the admiral; but gave umbrage to the

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 85. Thuanus, lib. v. c. 15.

CHAP. the dutchess of Somerset, who, uneasy that the younger
 XXXIV. brother's wife should have the precedency, employed all
 her interest with her husband, which was too great, first
 1548. to create, and then to widen a breach between the two
 brothers ^K.

THE first symptoms of this misunderstanding appeared when the protector commanded the army in Scotland. Secretary Paget, a man devoted to Somerset, remarked, that Seymour was forming separate intrigues among the counsellors; was corrupting, by presents, the king's servants; and even endeavouring, by improper indulgencies and liberalities, to captivate the affections of the young monarch. Paget represented to him the danger of this conduct; desired him to reflect on the numerous enemies, whom the sudden elevation of their family had created; and warned him that any dissension between him and the protector would be greedily laid hold of, to draw on the ruin of both. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he conveyed intelligence of the danger to Somerset, and engaged him to leave the enterprize upon Scotland unfinished, in order to guard against the attempts of his domestic enemies. In the ensuing parliament, the admiral's projects appeared still more hazardous to public tranquillity; and as he had acquired many partizans and retainers, he made a direct attack upon his brother's authority. He represented to his friends, that formerly, during a minority, the office of protector of the kingdom had been kept separate from that of governor of the king's person; and that the present union of these two important trusts, conferred on Somerset an authority, which could not safely be lodged in any subject ^L. He even prevailed on the young king, to write a letter to the parliament, desiring that Seymour might be appointed his governor; and he had formed a party in the two houses, by which he hoped to have effected his purpose. The design was discovered before its execution; and some common friends were sent to remonstrate with him, but had so little influence, that he threw out many menacing expressions, and rashly threatened, that, if he was thwarted in his attempt, he would make this parliament the blackest that ever
 was

^K Hayward, p. 301. Heylin, p. 72. Camden. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 5. Haynes, p. 69. ^L Haynes, p. 82, 90.

was in England^B. The council sent for him, to answer CHAP.
for his conduct; but he refused to attend: They then XXXIV.
began to threaten in their turn, and informed him, that
the king's letter, instead of availing him any thing to the
execution of his purpose, would be imputed to him as a
criminal enterprize, and be construed as a design to dis-
turb the government, by forming a separate interest with
a child and minor. They even let fall some menaces of
sending him to the tower for his temerity; and the admiral,
finding himself prevented in his design, was obliged
to submit, and to desire a reconciliation with his brother.

1548.

THE mild and moderate temper of Somerset made him willing to forget these enterprizes of the admiral; but the ambition of that turbulent spirit could not be so easily appeased. His spouse, the queen-dowager, died in child-bed; but so far from regarding this event as a check to his aspiring views, he founded on it the scheme of a more extraordinary elevation. He made his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, then in the sixteenth year of her age; and that princess, whom even the hurry of business, and the pursuits of ambition, could not; in her more advanced years, disengage entirely from the tender passions, seems to have listened to the insinuations of a man, who possessed every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair^C. But as Henry the eighth had excluded his daughters from all hopes of succession, if they married without the consent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain; it was concluded, that he proposed to effectuate his purpose by expedients still more rash and more criminal. All the other measures of the admiral tended to confirm this suspicion. He continued to attack, by presents, the fidelity of all such as had more immediate access to the king's person: He endeavoured to seduce that young prince into his interests: He found means of holding a private correspondence with him: He openly decried his brother's administration; and asserted, that, by enlisting Germans, and other foreigners, he intended to form a mercenary army, which endangered the king's authority, and the liberty of the people: By promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility; and had distributed his interest all over England: He neglected not
even

^B Haynes, p. 75.^C Haynes, p. 95, 96, 101, 103.

CHAP. even the most popular persons of inferior rank; and had
 XXXIV. computed, that he could, on occasion, raise an army of
 1548. 10,000 men, composed of his servants, tenants, and retainers^D: He had already provided arms for their use; and having engaged in his interests Sir John Sherington, a very corrupt man, master of the mint at Bristol, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting. Somerset was well apprized of all these alarming circumstances, and endeavoured by the most friendly expedients, by intreaty, reason, and even by heaping new favours upon the admiral, to make him depart from his precipitate councils: But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more severe remedies. The earl of Warwic was an ill instrument between the brothers; and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both.

*Dudley,
 earl of
 Warwic.*

DUDLEY, earl of Warwic, was the son of that Dudley, minister to Henry the seventh, who having, by rapine, extortion, and perversion of law, incurred the hatred of the public, had been sacrificed to popular animosity, in the beginning of the subsequent reign. The late king, sensible of the iniquity, at least illegality of the sentence, had afterwards restored young Dudley's blood by act of parliament; and finding him endowed with ability, industry, and enterprize, he had entrusted him with many important commands, and had ever found him successful in all his undertakings. He raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, conferred on him the office of admiral, and gave him by his will a place among his executors. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority; and having obtained the title of earl of Warwic, and undermined the credit of Southampton, he bore the first rank among the protector's counsellors. The victory, gained at Pinkey, was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally regarded as a man equally endowed with the talents of peace and of war. But all these virtues were obscured by still greater vices; an exorbitant ambition, an insatiable avarice, a neglect of decency, a contempt of justice: And as he found, that lord Seymour, whose ability and enterprize he chiefly dreaded, was involving himself in ruin by his rash councils, he was determined to push him on the precipice;

^D Haynes, p. 105, 106.

capice; and thereby remove the chief obstacle to his own projected greatness.

C H A P.
XXXIV.

1548.

WHEN Somerset found that the public peace was endangered by his brother's seditious, not to say rebellious, schemes, he was the more easily persuaded by Warwick, to employ the extent of royal authority against him; and after depriving him of the office of admiral, he signed a warrant for committing him to the tower. Some of his accomplices were also taken into custody; and three privy counsellors, being sent to examine them, made a report, that they had met with very full and important discoveries. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and shewed a reluctance to ruin his brother. He offered to depart from the prosecution, if Seymour would promise him a cordial reconciliation; and relinquishing all ambitious hopes, be contented with a private life, and retire into the country. But as Seymour made no other answer to these friendly offers than menaces and defiance, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles^B; and the whole to be laid before the privy-council. It is pretended, that every particular was so incontestably proved, both by witnesses and his own hand-writing, that there was no room for doubt; yet did the council think proper to go in a body to the tower, in order more fully to examine the prisoner. He was not daunted by the appearance: He boldly demanded a fair trial; required to be confronted with the witnesses; desired that the charge might be left with him, in order to be considered; and refused to answer any interrogatories, by which he might accuse himself.

It is apparent, that, notwithstanding what is pretended, there must have been some deficiency in the evidence against Seymour, when such demands, founded on the plainest principles of law and equity, were absolutely rejected. We shall indeed conclude, if we carefully examine the charge, that many of the articles were general, and scarce capable of any proof; many of them, if true, susceptible of a more favourable interpretation; and that, though, on the whole, Seymour appears to have been a very dangerous subject, he had not advanced far in those treasonable projects imputed to him. The chief part of his guilt seems to have consisted in some

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T

unwarrantable

^B Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 31. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

CHAP. unwarrantable practices in the admiralty, by which py-
XXXIV. rates were protected, and illegal impositions laid upon the
merchants.

1548.

BUT the administration had, at that time, an easy instrument of vengeance, to wit, the parliament; and needed not to give themselves any concern with regard either to the guilt of the persons whom they prosecuted, or the evidence which could be produced against them.

A parliament.

4th Nov.

A session of parliament being held, it was proposed to proceed against Seymour by bill of attainder; and much persuasion being employed to engage the young king to consent to it, a considerable weight was put on his approbation. The matter was first laid before the upper house; and several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct and his criminal words or actions. These narratives were received for undoubted evidence; and though the prisoner had formerly engaged many friends and partizans among the nobility, no one had either the courage or equity to move, that he might be heard in his own defence, that the testimony against him should be delivered in a legal manner, and that he should be confronted with the witnesses. A little more scruple was made in the house of commons: There were even some members who objected against the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder, passed in absence; and required, that a formal trial should be given to every man before his condemnation. But upon receiving a message from the king, requiring them to proceed, and offering that the same narratives should be laid before them which had satisfied the peers, they were easily prevailed on to acquiesce^F. The bill passed in a full house. Near four hundred voted for it; and not above nine or ten against it^G. The sentence was soon after executed, and the prisoner was beheaded on tower hill. The warrant was signed by Somerset, who was exposed to much blame, on account of the violence of these proceedings. The attempts of the admiral seemed chiefly to be levelled against his brother's usurped authority; and though his ambitious, enterprising character, encouraged by a marriage with the lady Elizabeth, might have proved hazardous to public tranquillity, the prudence, of foreseeing

1549.
*Attainder
of lord
Seymour.*

March 20.

His execution.

ing

^F 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.

^G Burnet, vol. ii. p. 99.

ing dangers at such a distance, was deemed too great; and the remedy was plainly illegal. It could only be said, that this bill of attainder was somewhat more tolerable than the preceding ones, to which the nation had been enured. For here, at least, some shadow of evidence was produced. C H A P. XXXIV. 1549.

ALL the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy; and they had executed the work committed to them. They proceeded with moderation in this delicate undertaking: They retained as much of the antient mass as the principles of the reformers would permit: They indulged nothing to the spirit of contradiction, which so naturally takes place in all great innovations: And they flattered themselves, that they had framed a service, in which every denomination of Christians might, without scruple, concur. The mass had been celebrated in Latin; a practice which might have been deemed absurd, had it not been found useful to the clergy, by impressing the people with an idea of some mysterious unknown virtue in those rites, and by checking all their pretensions to be familiarly acquainted with their religion. But as the reformers pretended, in some few particulars, to encourage private judgment in the laity, the translation of the liturgy, as well as of the Scriptures, into the vulgar tongue, seemed more conformable to the genius of their sect; and this innovation, with the retrenchment of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new liturgy. The parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordered an uniformity to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies ^H.

THERE was another very material act, which passed this session. The former canons had established the celibacy of the clergy; and though this practice be usually ascribed to the policy of the court of Rome, who thought, that the ecclesiastics would be more devoted to their spiritual head, and less dependant on the civil magistrate, when freed from the powerful tie of wives and children;

T 2

yet

^H 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.

C H A P. yet was this institution much forwarded by the principles
 XXXIV. of superstition inherent in human nature. These principles had rendered the panegyrics of an inviolate chastity so frequent among the antient fathers, long before the establishment of celibacy. And even the English parliament, though they framed a law, permitting the marriages of priests, yet confess, in the preamble, "that it
 1549. "were better for priests and ministers of the church to
 "live chaste and without marriage, and it were much to
 "be wished they would of themselves abstain." The inconveniencies, which had arisen from the compelling of chastity and the prohibiting of marriage, are the reasons assigned for indulging a liberty in this particular ¹. The ideas of penance also were so much retained in other particulars, that an act of parliament passed, prohibiting the use of flesh-meat, during Lent and other times of abstinence ².

THE

¹ 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21.

² 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 19. Another act, passed this session, takes notice in the preamble, that the city of York, formerly well inhabited, was now much decayed: Inasmuch that many of the cures could not afford a competent maintenance to the incumbents. To remedy this inconvenience, the magistrates were empowered to unite as many parishes as they thought proper. An ecclesiastical historian, Collier, vol. ii. p. 230, thinks, that this decay of York is chiefly to be ascribed to the dissolution of monasteries, by which they fell into the hands of persons who lived at a distance.

A very grievous tax was imposed this session upon the whole stock and monied interest of the kingdom, and even upon its industry. It was a shilling in the pound yearly, during three years, on every person worth ten pounds or upwards: The double on aliens and denizens. These last, if above twelve years of age, and if worth less than twenty shillings, were to pay eight pence yearly. Every wether was to pay two pence yearly; every ewe three pence. The woollen manufacturers were to pay eight pence a pound on the value of all the cloth they made. These exorbitant taxes on money are a proof, that few people lived on the money lent out at interest: For this tax amounts to the half of the yearly income of all moneyholders, during three years, estimating their interest at the rate allowed by law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many persons had been affected by it. It is remarkable, that no tax at all was laid upon land this session. The profits of merchandise

THE principal tenets and practices of the catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as we enjoy at present, was almost entirely compleated in England. But the doctrine of the real presence, though tacitly condemned by the new communion-service, and by the abolition of many antient rites, still retained some hold of the minds of men; and it was the last doctrine of popery, which was wholly abandoned by the people ^L. The great attachment of the late king to that tenet might be some ground for this obstinacy; but the chief cause was really the extreme absurdity of the principle itself, and the profound veneration, which of course it impressed on the imagination. The priests likewise were much inclined to favour an opinion, which attributed to them so miraculous a power; and the people, who believed, that they participated of the very body and blood of their Saviour, were loth to renounce so extraordinary, and, as they imagined, so salutary a privilege. The general attachment to this dogma was so violent, that the Lutherans, notwithstanding their separation from Rome, had thought proper, under another name, still to retain it: And the catholic preachers, in England, when restrained in every other particular, could not forbear, on every occasion, from inculcating that tenet. Bonner, for this offence among others, had been tried by the council, had been deprived of his see, and had been committed to custody. Gardiner also, who had recovered his liberty, appeared anew refractory to the authority, which established the late innovations; and he seemed willing to countenance that opinion, much favoured by all the English catholics, that

chandise were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this imposition. The most absurd part of the law seems to be the tax upon the woollen manufacture. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 36. The subsequent parliament repealed the tax on sheep and woollen cloth. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 23. But they continued the other tax a year longer. Ibid.

The clergy taxed themselves at six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years. This taxation was ratified in parliament, which had been the common practice since the reformation, as if the clergy had no legislative power, even over themselves. See 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 35.

^L Burnet, vol. ii. cap. 104.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

1549.

CH A P. that the king was indeed supreme head of the church, XXXIV. but not the council during a minority. Having declined to give full satisfaction on this head, he was sent to the tower, and threatened with farther effects of the council's displeasure.

1549

THESE severities, being exercised against men, possessed of office and authority, seemed, in that age, a necessary policy, in order to enforce an uniformity in public worship and discipline: But there were other instances of persecution, derived from no other origin than the bigotry of theologians; a malady, which seems almost incurable. Though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, deemed certain during so many centuries, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they would bear no contradiction with regard to it; and they were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to oppose them. A commission by act of council was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of common prayer^M. They were enjoined to reclaim them, if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: Or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm: And in the execution of this charge, the commissioners were not bound to observe the ordinary methods of trial; the forms of law were dispensed with; and if any statutes happened to interfere with the powers in the commission, they were overruled and abrogated by the council. Some tradesmen in London were brought before these commissioners, and were accused of maintaining, among other opinions, that a man regenerate could not sin, and that, though the outward man might offend, the inward was incapable of all guilt. They were prevailed on to abjure, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so extremely obstinate, that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ
" was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh, be-
" ing

^M Burnet, vol. ii. p. 3. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 181.

“ ing the outward man, was sinfully begotten and born CHAP.
 “ in sin; and consequently, he could take none of it: XXXIV.

“ But the word, by the consent of the inward man of
 “ the virgin, was made flesh ^N.” This opinion, it would 1549.

seem, is not orthodox; and there was a necessity for maintaining it. But the young king, though in such tender years, had more sense than all his counsellors and preceptors; and he long refused to sign the warrant for her execution. Cranmer was employed to persuade him to compliance; and he said, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly contradictory to the Apostles creed: These latter were impieties against God, which the prince, being God's deputy, ought to repress; in like manner, as the king's deputies were bound to punish offences against the king's person. Edward, overcome by importunity more than reason, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; and he told Cranmer, that, if any wrong was done, the guilt should lie entirely on his head. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her obstinate against all his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy, which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots, which were consuming him; a species of frenzy, of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of this reign ^O.

THESE rigorous methods of proceeding soon brought the whole nation to a conformity, seeming or real, with the new doctrine and the new liturgy. The lady Mary alone continued to adhere to the mass, and refused to admit the established modes of worship. When pressed and menaced on this head, she applied to the emperor; who, using his interest with Sir Philip Hobby, the English ambassador, procured her a temporary connivance from the council ^R.

^N Burnet, vol. ii. coll. 35. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

^O Burnet, vol. ii. p. 112. Strype's Mem. Cranm. p. 181.

^R Heylin, p. 102.

C H A P. XXXV.

Discontents of the people — Insurrections — Conduct of the war with Scotland — with France. — Factions in the council. — Conspiracy against Somerset. — Somerset resigns the protectorship. — A parliament. — Peace with France and Scotland. — Boulogne surrendered. — Persecution of Gardiner. — Warwick created duke of Northumberland. — His ambition. — Trial of Somerset. — His execution. — A parliament. — A new parliament. — Succession changed. — The king's sickness — and death.

CHAP.
XXXV.

1549.
Discontents of the people.

THERE is no abuse so great, in civil society, as not to be attended with a variety of beneficial consequences; and in the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly, while the benefit resulting from the change, is the slow effect of time, and is seldom perceived by the bulk of a nation. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable, in the main, to the interests of mankind than that of monks and friars; yet was it followed by many good effects, which, having ceased by the suppression of monasteries, were very much regretted by the people of England. The monks, residing always in their convents, in the heart of their estates, spent their money in the provinces and among their tenants, afforded a ready market for commodities, were a sure resource to the poor and indigent; and though their hospitality and charity gave but too much encouragement to idleness, and prevented the increase of public riches, yet did it provide, to many, a remedy against the extreme pressures of want and necessity. It is also observable, that, as the friars were limited, by the rules of their institution, to a certain train of life, they had not equal motives for extortion with other men; and they were acknowledged to have been in England, as they still are in Roman catholic countries, the best and most indulgent landlords. The abbots and priors were permitted to give leases at an under-value, and to receive, in return, a large present from the tenant; in the same manner as is still practised by the bishops and colleges. But when the abbey-lands were distributed

distributed among the great nobility and courtiers, they fell under a different management: The rents of farms were raised, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce; the money was spent in the capital; and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to all the oppressions of their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1549.

THESE complaints of the common people were at that time heightened by other causes. The arts of manufacture were much more advanced in other European countries than in England; and even in England these arts had made greater progress than the knowledge of agriculture; a profession, which, of all mechanical employments, requires the most reflection and experience. A great demand arose for wool both abroad and at home: Pasturage was found more profitable than unskilful tillage: Whole estates were laid waste by inclosures: The tenants, regarded as a useless burthen, were expelled their habitations: Even the cottagers, deprived of the commons, on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery: And a great decay of people, as well as diminution of the former plenty, was remarked in the kingdom^A. This grievance was now of an old date; and Sir Thomas More, alluding to it, observes in his *Utopia*, that a sheep had become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or wolf, and devoured whole villages, cities, and provinces.

THE general encrease also of gold and silver in Europe, after the discovery of the West-Indies, had a tendency to inflame these complaints. The growing demand, in the more commercial countries, had heightened every where the price of commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in England, the labour of men, who could not so easily change their habitation, still remained nearly at their antient rates; and the poor people complained that they could no longer gain a subsistence by their industry. It was by an addition alone of toil and application they were enabled to procure a maintenance; and though this encrease of industry was at last the effect of the present situation, and an effect very beneficial to society, yet was it difficult for the people to shake off their former habits of indolence; and nothing

but

^A Strype, vol. ii. Repository Q.

CHAP. but necessity could compel them to that exertion of their
XXXV. faculties.

1549. IT must also be remarked, that the profusion of Henry the eighth had reduced him, notwithstanding his rapacity, to such difficulties, that he had been obliged to remedy a present necessity, by the pernicious expedient of debasing the coin; and the wars, in which the protector had been involved, had induced him to carry still farther the same abuse. The usual consequences ensued: The good coin was hoarded or exported; base metal was coined at home or imported from abroad in great abundance; the common people, who received their wages in it, could not purchase commodities at the usual rates; an universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every part of England.

THE protector, who loved popularity, and compassionated the condition of the people, encouraged these complaints by his endeavours to remedy them. He appointed a commission for making enquiry concerning inclosures; and issued a proclamation, ordering all late inclosures to be laid open by a day assigned. The populace, meeting with such countenance from the government, began to rise in several places, and to commit disorders; but were quieted by remonstrances and persuasion. In order to give them greater satisfaction, Somerset appointed new commissioners, whom he sent every where, with an unlimited power to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, high-ways, and cottages^B. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they stigmatized the commission as arbitrary and illegal; and the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for immediate redress, could no longer contain their fury, but sought for a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert: Those in the neighbouring counties, Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the rioters were killed in the field: Others were executed by martial law. The commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted

Insurrections.

^B Burnet, vol. ii. p. 115. Strype, vol. ii. p. 171.

quieted by gentler methods; but the disorders in De. CHAP.
vonshire and Norfolk threatened the most fatal conse- XXXV.
quences.

THE commonalty in Devonshire began with the usual pretence of inclosures and of oppressions from the gentry; but the parish priest of Samford-Courtenay had the address to give their discontents a direction towards religion; and the delicacy of this subject, in the present emergency, made the insurrection immediately appear dangerous. In other countries, the gentry had kept closely united with the government; but here many of them took part with the populace; among others, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, and amounted to the number of 10,000 men. Lord Russel had been sent against them at the head of a small force; but finding himself too weak to encounter them in the field, he kept at a distance, and began to treat and negotiate with them; in hopes of eluding their fury by delay, and of dispersing them by the difficulty of their subsisting in a body. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed^c. The council, to whom Russel transmitted these demands, sent a haughty answer; exhorted the rebels to disperse; and promised them pardon upon their immediate submission. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched to Exeter; carrying before them crosses, banners, holy-water, candlesticks, and other implements of the ancient superstition; together with the host, which they covered with a canopy^d. The inhabitants of Exeter shut their gates; and the rebels, as they had no cannon, endeavoured to take the place, first by scalade, then by mining, but were repulsed in every attempt. Russel meanwhile lay at Honiton, till reinforced by Sir William Herbert, and lord Gray, with some German horse, and some Italian arquebusiers under Battista Spinola. He then resolved to attempt the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to extremities. He attacked the rebels, drove them from all their posts, did great execution upon

^c Hayward, p. 292. Holingshed, p. 1003. Fox, vol. ii. p. 666. Mem. Cranm. p. 186. ^d Heylin, p. 76.

CHAP. on them both in the action and pursuit ^E, and took many
 XXXV. prisoners. Arundel and the other leaders were sent to
 London, tried and executed. Many of the inferior sort
 1549. were put to death by martial law ^F: The vicar of St.
 Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged
 on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish weeds,
 with his beads at his girdle ^G.

THE insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater violences. The populace were at first excited, as in other places, by the complaints against inclosures; but finding their numbers amount to twenty thousand men, they grew insolent on their force, and proceeded to more exorbitant pretensions. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing of new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of the antient rites. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government of them; and he exercised his authority with the utmost insolence and outrage. Having taken possession of Mousehold-Hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, thence called the oak of reformation; and summoning the gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as might be expected from his character and situation. The marquis of Northampton was first ordered against him; but met with a repulse, in an action, where lord Sheffield was killed ^H. The protector affected popularity, and cared not to appear in person against the rebels: He therefore sent next the earl of Warwic at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland; and he thereby afforded his mortal enemy an opportunity of augmenting his reputation and character. Warwic, having tried some skirmishes with the rebels, at last made a general attack upon them, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the flight and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich castle; nine of his followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation; and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. Some rebels in Yorkshire, hearing of the fate of their companions, accepted the offers of pardon, and

^E Stowe's Annals, p. 597. Hayward, p. 295. ^F Hayward, p. 295, 296. ^G Heylin, p. 76. Holingshed, p. 1026.

^H Stowe, p. 597. Holingshed, p. 1030.—34. Strype, vol. ii. p. 174.

and threw down their arms. A general indemnity was soon after published by the protector ^{CHAP. XXXV.}

BUT though the insurrections were thus quickly subdued in England, and no traces of them seemed to remain, they were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwic, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprize; and De Thermes had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. He took the fortresses of Broughty, and put the garrison to the sword. He straitened the English at Haddington; and though lord Dacres found means to throw relief into the place, and to reinforce the garrison, it was experienced to be very chargeable, and even impracticable, to keep possession of that fortress. The whole country in the neighbourhood was laid waste by the inroads both of the Scots and English, and could afford no supply to the garrison: The place lay above thirty miles from the borders; so that a regular army was necessary to escort thither any provisions: and as the plague had broke out among the troops, they perished daily, and were reduced to a state of great weakness. For these reasons, orders were given to dismantle Haddington, and to convey the artillery and garrison to Berwic; and the earl of Rutland, now created warden of the East Marches, executed the orders.

1549.
*Conduct
of the war
with Scot-
land.*

THE king of France also took advantage of the distractions of the English, and made an attempt to recover *France.* With Boulogne, and that territory, which Henry the eighth had conquered from France. On other pretences, he assembled an army; and falling suddenly upon the Boulonois, took the castles of Sellacque, Blacknes, and Ambleteuse, though well supplied with garrisons, ammunition, and provisions ^k. He endeavoured to surprize Baulenberg, and was repulsed; but the garrison, not thinking the place tenable after the loss of the other fortresses, destroyed the works, and retired to Boulogne. The rains, which fell in great abundance during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper, which broke out in the French camp, deprived Henry of all hopes of success against Boulogne itself; and he retired to Paris ^l. He left the command

ⁱ Hayward, p. 297, 298, 299. ^k Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 6.

^l Hayward, p. 300.

CHAP. command of the army to Gasper de Coligny, lord of
 XXXV. Chattillon, so famous afterwards under the name of ad-
 1549. miral Coligny; and he gave him orders to form the
 siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this
 general engaged him to make, during the winter, several
 attempts against they place; but they proved all unsuc-
 cessful.

STROZZI, who commanded the French fleet and gal-
 leys, endeavoured to make a descent on Jersey; but
 meeting there with an English fleet, an action ensued,
 which seems not to have been decisive, since the histo-
 rians of the two nations differ so widely in their accounts
 of the event ^M.

As soon as the French war broke out, the protector
 endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the
 emperor; and he sent over secretary Paget to Brussels,
 where Charles then resided, in order to assist Sir Philip
 Hobby, the ordinary ambassador, in this negotiation.
 But that prince had formed a design of extending his do-
 minions, by acting the part of champion for the catholic
 religion; and though extremely desirous of accepting the
 English alliance against France, his capital enemy, he
 thought it unsuitable to his other pretensions to enter into
 strict confederacy with a nation, which had broke off all
 connexions with the church of Rome. He therefore de-
 clined the advances of friendship from England; and
 eluded the applications of the ambassadors. An exact ac-
 count is preserved of this negotiation in a letter of Hob-
 by's; and it is remarkable, that the emperor, in a con-
 versation with the English ministers, asserted that the pre-
 rogatives of a king of England were more extensive than
 those of a king of France ^N. Burnet, who preserves
 this letter, subjoins, as a parallel instance, that one ob-
 jection which the Scots made to marrying their queen
 with Edward, was, that all their privileges would be
 swallowed up by the great prerogative of the kings of
 England ^O.

SOMERSET, finding no assistance from the emperor,
 was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scot-
 land; and besides that he was not in a condition to main-
 tain such ruinous wars, he thought, that there no longer
 remained

^M Thuan. King Edward's Journal, Stowe, p. 597. ^N Bur-
 net, vol. ii. p. 132, 175. ^O Idem, p. 133.

remained an object of hostility. The Scots had sent away CHAP. their queen; and could not, if ever so much inclined, XXXV. compleat the marriage contracted with Edward: And as 1549. Henry the eighth had stipulated to restore Boulogne in 1554, it seemed a matter of small consequence to anticipate, a few years, the term of the treaty. But when he proposed these reasons to the council, he met with strong opposition from his enemies, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification. The factions ran very high in the court of England; and matters were drawing to an issue, fatal to the authority of the protector.

AFTER Somerset obtained the patent, investing him *Factions* with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to *in the* the opinion of the other counsellors; and being elated *council.* with his dignity, as well as with his victory at Pinkey, he thought, that every one ought, in every thing, to yield to his sentiments. All those who were not entirely devoted to him, were sure to be neglected; whoever opposed his will, received marks of anger or contempt^P; and while he shewed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not, in any respect, proportioned to his ambition. Warwic, more subtle and artful, covered more exorbitant views under fairer appearances; and having associated himself with Southampton, who had been re-admitted into the council, he formed a strong party, who were determined to free themselves from the slavery, imposed on them by the protector.

THE malcontent counsellors found the disposition of the nation very favourable to their designs. The nobility and gentry were in general displeased with the preference, which Somerset seemed to have given the people; and as they ascribed all the insults, to which they had been lately exposed, to his procrastination, and to the encouragement given the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the same disorders from his present affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requests in his house for the relief of the people^Q, and he interposed with the judges in their behalf; a measure which might be denominated illegal, if any exertion of prerogative, at

^P Strype, vol. ii. p. 181.

^Q Ibid. p. 183.

CHAP. at that time, could with certainty deserve that appellation.
XXXIV. And this attempt, which was a stretch of power, seemed the more unpolitic, because it disgusted the nobility, the surest support of monarchical authority.
 1549.

BUT though Somerset courted the people, the interest, which he had formed with them, was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the multitude, were his declared enemies; and took advantage of every opportunity to decry his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: The introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, was represented in very invidious colours: The great estate which he had suddenly acquired, at the expence of the church and of the crown, rendered him obnoxious: And the palace which he was building in the Strand, served, by its magnificence, and still more by other circumstances which attended it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops houses, were pulled down, to furnish ground and materials for this structure: not contented with that sacrilege, an attempt was made to demolish St. Margaret's Westminster, and to employ the stones to the same purpose; but the parishioners rose in a tumult, and chased away the protector's tradesmen. He then laid his hands on a chapel in St. Paul's Church-yard, with a cloister, and charnel-house belonging to it; and these edifices, together with a church of St. John of Jerusalem, were made use of to raise his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people, was that the tombs and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones carried away, and buried in unconsecrated ground ^{R.}

6th Oct. ALL these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, met at Ely-house; and assuming to themselves the whole power of that board, began to act independent of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them
 of

*Conspiracy
 against So-
 merfet.*

^R Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stowe's Survey of London. Hayward, p. 303.

of the present measures, and requiring their assistance: CHAP. XXXV.
 They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to obey their orders, without regard to any contrary orders, which they should receive from the duke of Somerset. They laid the same injunctions on the lieutenant of the tower, who expressed his resolution to comply with them. Next day, Rich, lord chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and chief justice Montague, joined the malcontent counsellors; and every thing bore a bad aspect for the protector's authority, Secretary Petre, whom he had sent to treat with the council, chose rather to remain with them; and the common council of the city, being applied to, declared with one voice their approbation of the new measures, and their resolution of supporting them^s.

1549.

THE protector had no sooner heard of the defection of the counsellors, than he removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and tower had declared against him, that even his best friends and confidants had deserted him, he lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. No sooner was this despondency known, than lord Russel, Sir John Baker, speaker of the house of commons, and three counsellors more, who had hitherto remained neutrals, joined Warwic's party, whom every body now regarded as masters. The council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions; they wrote to the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to the same purpose; they made addresses to the king, in which, after the humblest protestations of duty and obedience, they informed him, that they were the council appointed by his father, for the government of the kingdom during his minority; that they had chosen the duke of Somerset protector, under the express condition, that he should guide himself by their advice and direction; that he had usurped the whole authority to

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U

himself,

^s Stowe, p. 597, 598. Holingshed, p. 1057.

CHAP. himself, and had neglected, and even in every thing opposed their counsel; that he had proceeded to that height of presumption, as to levy forces against them, and place these forces about his majesty's person: They therefore begged, that they might be admitted to his royal presence; that he would be pleased to restore them to his confidence; and that Somerset's servants might be dismissed. Their request was complied with: Somerset capitulated only for a gentle treatment, which was promised him. He was, however, sent to the tower^T, with some of his friends and partizans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished. Articles of charge were exhibited against him^U; of which the chief, at least the best founded, is his usurpation of the government, and his taking into his own hands the whole administration of affairs. The clause of his patent, which invested him with absolute power, unlimited by any law, was never objected to him; plainly, because, according to the sentiments of those times, that power was, in some degree, involved in the very idea of regal authority.

1549.
*Somerset
resigns the
protector-
ship.*

THE catholics were extremely elevated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's councils, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the antient religion. But Warwic, who now bore chief sway in the council, was intirely indifferent with regard to all these points of controversy; and finding, that the principles of the reformation had sunk deeper into the young prince's mind than to be easily eradicated, he was determined to comply with his inclinations, and not to hazard his new-acquired power by any dangerous counsels. He took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that the high-spirited noblemen retired from the council, and soon after died of vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in the revolution, received their reward by promotions and new honours. Russel was created earl of Bedford: The marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth,

^T Stowe, p. 600. ^U Burnet, vol. ii. book i. coll. 46.
Hayward, p. 308. Stowe, p. 601. Holingshed, p. 1059.

Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, got two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were torn from the see of London^Y. A council of regency was formed, not that which Henry's will had appointed for the government of the kingdom, and which, being founded on an act of parliament, was the only legal one; but composed chiefly of members, who had formerly been appointed by Somerset, and who derived their seats from an authority, which was now declared usurped and illegal. But such niceties were, during that age, little understood, and still less regarded, in England.

C H A P. XXXV.

1549.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and as it was the usual maxim of that assembly to acquiesce in every administration which was established, the council dreaded no opposition from that quarter, and had reason rather to look for a corroboration of their authority. Somerset had been prevailed with to confess, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and he imputed these misdemeanors to his own rashness, folly, and indiscretion, not to any malignity of intention^Z. He even subscribed this confession; and the paper was given in to parliament, who, after sending a committee to examine him, and hear him acknowledge it to be authentic, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year of land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king: He recovered his liberty: and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, and that his authority was much lessened by his late tame and abject behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Somerset^A.

DURING this session a severe act was passed against riots^B; that if any, to the number of twelve persons, should meet together for any matter of state, and being required by any lawful magistrate, should not disperse, it should be treason; and if any broke hedges, or violently

U 2

pulled

^Y Heylin, p. 85. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 226.
^B 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 5.

^Z Heylin,
^A Hayward,

p. 84. Hayward, p. 309. Stowe, p. 603.

CHAP. pulled up pales about inclosures, without lawful authority, it should be felony: Any attempt to kill a privy counsellor, was subjected to the same penalty. The bishops had made an application, complaining, that they were deprived of all their power, by the encroachments of the civil courts, and the present suspension of the canon law; that they could summon no offenders before them, punish no vice, nor exert the discipline of the church: From which diminution of their authority, they pretended, immorality had every where received great encouragement and increase. The design of some was, to revive the penitentiary rules of the primitive church: But others thought, that such an authority, committed to the bishops, would prove more oppressive than confession, penance, and all the clerical inventions of the antient superstition. The parliament, for the present, contented themselves with empowering the king to appoint thirty-two commissioners to frame a body of canon laws, which were to be valid, though never ratified by parliament. Such implicit trust did they repose in the crown, without reflecting that all their liberties and properties might be affected by these canons^c. The king died before the canons received the royal sanction. Sir John Sharington, whose crimes and malversations had appeared so egregious at the condemnation of lord Seymour, obtained from parliament a reversal of his attainder^d. This man sought favour with the more zealous reformers; and bishop Latimer asserted, that though formerly he was a most notorious knave, he was now so penitent, that he had become a very honest man.

1550.
*Peace
with
France
and Scot-
land.*

WHEN Warwic and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties, which had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have an object, which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. The project of peace, entertained by Somerset, had served them as a pretence of clamour against his administration; yet after sending Sir Thomas Cheney to the emperor, and making again a fruitless effort to engage him in the protection of Boulogne,

^c 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 2.

^d Ibid. c. 13.

ogne, they found themselves obliged to listen to the advances, which Henry made them, by means of Guidotti, a Florentine merchant. The earl of Bedford, Sir John Mason, Paget, and Petre, were sent over to Boulogne, with full powers to negotiate. The French king absolutely refused to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of pensions; and said, that he never would consent to render himself tributary to any prince: But he offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne; and four hundred thousand crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was comprehended in the treaty: The English stipulated to restore Lauder and Dunglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth^e. No sooner was peace concluded with France, than a project was entertained of a close union with that kingdom; and Henry very willingly embraced a proposal so suitable both to his interests and inclinations. An agreement, some time after, was formed for a marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of France; and all the articles were, after a little negotiation, fully settled^f: But this project never took effect.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1550.

*Boulogne
surrendered.
24th Mar.*

THE intention of marrying the king to a daughter of Henry, a violent persecutor of the protestants, was no wise acceptable to that party in England: But in all other respects, the council was very steady in promoting the reformation, and in enforcing the laws against the Romanists. Several prelates were still addicted to that communion; and though they made some compliances, in order to save their bishoprics, they retarded, as much as they safely could, the execution of the new laws, and gave countenance to such incumbents as were negligent or refractory. A resolution was therefore taken to seek pretences for depriving those prelates; and the execution of this intention was the more easy, as they had all of them been obliged to take commissions, in which it was declared, that they held their sees only during the king's pleasure.

^e Burnet, vol. ii. p. 148. Hayward, 310, 511, 312. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 211. ^f Hayward, p. 318. Heylin, p. 104. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 293.

CHA P. pleasure. It was thought proper to begin with Gardiner, XXXV. in order to strike a terror into the rest. The method of proceeding against him was extremely violent, and had scarce any colour of law or justice. It had been enjoined him to inculcate, in a sermon, the duty of obedience to a king, even during his minority; and because he had neglected this topic, he had been thrown into prison, and had been there detained during two years, without being accused of any crime, except disobedience to this arbitrary command. The duke of Somerset, secretary Petre, and some others of the council, were now sent, in order to try his temper, and endeavour to find some ground for depriving him: He professed to them his intention of conforming to the government, of supporting the king's laws, and of officiating by the new liturgy. This was not the disposition which they expected or desired^o: A new deputation was therefore sent, who carried him several articles to subscribe. He was to acknowledge his former misbehaviour, and to confess the justice of his confinement: He was likewise to own, that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing with holydays, was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer book was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a compleat sovereign in his minority; that the act of the six articles was justly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in ecclesiastical discipline, government, or doctrine. The bishop was willing to put his hand to all the articles except the first: He maintained his conduct to have been inoffensive; and declared, that he would not own himself guilty of faults, which he had never committed^p.

THE council, finding that he had gone such lengths, were determined to prevent his full compliance, by multiplying the difficulties upon him, and sending him new articles to subscribe. A list was selected of such points as they thought would be the most hard of digestion; and not content with these, they insisted still on his submission, and his acknowledgment of past errors. To make this subscription more mortifying, they required a promise, that he would recommend and publish all these articles from

^o Heylin, p. 99. ^p Collier, vol. ii. p. 305. from the council books. Heylin, p. 99.

from the pulpit: But Gardiner, who saw, that they intended either to ruin or dishonour him, or perhaps both, determined not to gratify his enemies by any farther compliances: He still insisted on his innocence; desired a fair trial; and refused to subscribe more articles, till he should recover his liberty. For this pretended offence his bishopric was put under sequestration for three months; and as he then appeared no more compliant than at first, a commission was appointed to try, or, more properly speaking, to condemn him. The commissioners were, the primate, the bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, secretary Petre, Sir James Hales, and some other lawyers. Gardiner objected to the legality of the commission, which was not founded on any statute or precedent; and he appealed from the commissioners to the king. His appeal was not regarded: Sentence was pronounced against him: He was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody: His books and papers were seized; all company was denied him; and it was not allowed him either to send or receive any letters or messages.

GARDINER, as well as the other prelates, had agreed to hold his office during the king's pleasure: But the council, unwilling to make use of a concession, which had been so illegally and arbitrarily extorted, chose rather to employ some forms of justice; a resolution, which led them to commit still greater iniquities and severities. But the violence of the reformers did not stop there. Day, bishop of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were deprived of their bishoprics, on pretence of disobedience. Even Kitchen of Landaff, Capon of Salisbury, and Samson of Coventry, tho' they had complied in every thing, yet not being supposed cordial or hearty in their obedience, were obliged to seek protection, by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers^a.

THESE plunderers neglected not even smaller profits. An order was issued by council, for purging the library at Westminster of all missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes, and delivering their garniture to Sir Anthony Aucher^a. Many of these books were plaited with gold.

^a Fox, vol. ii. p. 734. & seq. Burnet, Heylin, Collier.

^a Goodwin de præful. Angl. Heylin, p. 100. ^a Collier, vol. ii. p. 307, from the council books.

C H A P. gold and silver, and curiously embossed; and this finery
 XXXV. was probably the superstition that condemned them. Great
 havoc was likewise made on the libraries of Oxford.
 1551. Books and manuscripts were destroyed without distinction: The volumes of divinity suffered for their rich binding: Those of literature were condemned as useless; Those of geometry and astronomy were supposed to contain nothing but necromancy ^T. The university had not power to oppose these barbarous violences: They were in danger of losing their own revenues; and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the earl of Warwick and his associates.

THOUGH every thing besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mats, and to reject the new liturgy. Her behaviour was, during some time, connived at; but, at last, her two chaplains, Mallet and Berkeley, were thrown into prison ^U; and the princess was remonstrated with for her disobedience. The council wrote her a letter, by which they endeavoured to make her change her sentiments, and to persuade her, that her religious faith was very ill grounded. They asked her, what warrant there was in Scripture for prayers in an unknown tongue, the use of images, or offering up the sacrament for the dead; and they desired her to peruse St. Austin, and the other antient doctors, who would convince her of the errors of the Romish superstition, and prove that it was founded merely on false miracles and lying stories ^X. The lady Mary remained obstinate against all this advice, and protested herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion: She only feared, she said, that she was not worthy to suffer martyrdom in so holy a cause: And as for protestant books, she thanked God, that, as she never had, so she hoped never to read any of them. Dreading farther violence, she endeavoured to make her escape to her kinsman Charles; but her design was discovered and prevented ^Y. The emperor remonstrated in her behalf, and even threatened hostilities, if liberty of conscience was refused her: But though the council, sensible that the kingdom

^T Wood, hist. & antiq. Oxon. lib. i. p. 271, 272.
 vol. ii. p. 249. ^X Fox, vol. ii. Collier, Burnet.
 ward, p. 315.

^U Strype,
^Y Hay-

kingdom was in no condition to support, with honour, such a war, was desirous to comply; they found great difficulty to overcome the scruples of the young king. He had been educated in such a violent abhorrence of the mass, and other popish rites, which he regarded as impious and idolatrous, that he should participate, he thought, in the sin, if he allowed its commission: And when at last the importunity of Cranmer, Ridley, and Poinet, prevailed somewhat over his opposition, he burst into tears; lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and bewailing his own fate, that he must suffer her to continue in such an abominable mode of worship.

THE great object, at this time, of antipathy among the protestant sects, was popery, or, more properly speaking, the papists. These they regarded as the common enemy, who threatened every moment to overwhelm the evangelical faith, and destroy its partizans by fire and sword: They had not as yet had leisure to attend to the other minute differences among themselves, which afterwards became the objects of such furious quarrels and animosities, and threw the whole kingdom into confusion. Several Lutheran divines, who had reputation in those days, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, were induced to take shelter in England, from the persecutions, which the emperor exercised in Germany; and they received protection and encouragement. John A-lasco, a Polish nobleman, being expelled his country by the rigours of the catholics, settled, during some time, at Embden in East-Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. Foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he removed to England, and brought his congregation along with him. The council, who regarded them as industrious, useful people, and desired to invite over others of the same character, not only gave them Augustine friars church for the exercise of their religion, but granted them a charter, by which they were erected into a corporation, consisting of a superintendant and four assisting ministers. This ecclesiastical establishment was quite independent of the church of England, and differed from it in some rites and ceremonies ².

THESE differences among the protestants were matter of triumph to the catholics; who insisted, that the moment

² Mem. Cranm. p. 234.

CHAP. ment men departed from the authority of the church;
 XXXV. they lost all criterion of truth and falshood in matters of
 1551. religion, and must be carried away by every wind of doctrine. The continual variations of every sect of protestants afforded them the same topic of reasoning. The book of common prayer suffered in England a new revival; and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted ^A. The speculative doctrines, or the metaphysics of the religion, were also fixed in forty-two articles. These articles were intended to obviate further divisions and variations; and the framing them had been postponed till the establishment of the liturgy, which was justly regarded as a more material object to the people. The eternity of hell torments is asserted in the articles; and care is also taken to inculcate, not only that no heathen, however virtuous, can escape an endless state of the most exquisite misery, but also that every one who pretumes to maintain, that any pagan can possibly be saved, is himself exposed to the penalty of eternal perdition ^B.

THE theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have been ever uppermost in their thoughts: They even found leisure to attend to the public interest; nay, to the commerce of the nation, which was, at that time, very little the object of general study or attention. The trade of England had antiently been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly the inhabitants of the Hanse-towns, or Easterlings, as they were called; and in order to encourage these merchants to settle in England, they had been erected into a corporation by Henry the third, had obtained a patent, endowed with privileges, and were exempted from several heavy duties paid by aliens. So ignorant were the English of commerce, that this company, commonly denominated the merchants of the Stilyard, engrossed, even to the reign of Edward, almost the whole foreign trade of the kingdom; and as they naturally employed the shipping of their own country, the navigation of England was also in a very languishing condition. It was therefore thought proper by the council to find pretences for annulling the privileges of this corporation, privileges which put

^A Mem. Cranm. p. 289.

^B Article xviii.

put them nearly on an equal footing with Englishmen in the duties which they paid; and as such patents were, during that age, granted by the absolute power of the king, men were the less surprized to find them recalled by the same authority. Several remonstrances were made against this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburg, and other Hanse-towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it became soon visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: But when aliens' duty was also imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom.^c

ABOUT the same time a treaty was made with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden, by which it was stipulated, that, if he sent bullion into England, he might carry away English commodities without paying custom; that he should carry bullion to no other prince; that if he sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay custom for English commodities as an Englishman; and that, if he sent other merchandize, he should have free intercourse, paying custom as a stranger^d. The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantity, set the mint to work: Good specie was coined: And much of the base metal, formerly issued, was recalled: A circumstance which tended extremely to the encouragement of commerce.

BUT all these schemes for the improvement of industry were likely to prove abortive, by the fear of domestic convulsions, arising from the exorbitant ambition of Warwick. That nobleman, not contented with the station, which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained to himself partizans, who were disposed to second him in every enterprize. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Piercy, his brother, had been attainted on account of the share which he had in the Yorkshire insurrection during the late

^c Hayward, p. 326. Heylin, p. 108. Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 295. ^d Heylin, p. 109.

C H A P. late reign, the title was at present extinct, and the estate XXXV. was vested in the crown. Warwic now procured to him-

1551.

self a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the North, the most warlike part of the kingdom; and he was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend, Paulet, lord St. John, the treasurer, was created, first, earl of Wiltshire, then marquis of Winchester: Sir William Herbert obtained the title of earl of Pembroke.

His ambition.

BUT the ambition of Northumberland made him regard all increase of possessions and titles, either to himself or partizans, as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset, though degraded from his high dignity, and even lessened in the public opinion by his spiritless conduct, still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin a man, whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to his hopes. The alliance, which had been formed between the families, had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass with more certainty the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that unhappy nobleman: He sometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger: Sometimes provoked him by ill usage. The unguarded Somerset often broke out into menacing expressions against Northumberland: At other times, he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned: His treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word, which dropped from him: They revealed the schemes, which they themselves had first suggested^E: And Northumberland thinking that the proper season was now come, began to act in an open manner against him.

16th Oct.

IN one night, the duke of Somerset, the lord Grey, David and John Scymour, Hammond and Neudigate, two of the duke's servants, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Thomas Palmer were arrested and committed to custody. Next day, the dutchess of Somerset, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Bannister, and others, were thrown into prison. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the

gens

^E Heylin. p. 112.

gens d'armes on a muster-day, to secure the tower, and to excite a rebellion in London; But what was the only probable accusation, he asserted, that Somerset had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it appears that some rash scheme of that nature had really been mentioned; though no regular conspiracy had been formed, nor means prepared for its execution. Hammond confessed, that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his house at Greenwich.

SOMERSET was brought to his trial before the marquis of Winchester, who was created high steward. Twenty-seven peers composed the jury, among whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, whom decency should have hindered from acting as judges in the trial of a man, that appeared to be their capital enemy. Somerset was accused of high treason on account of the projected insurrections, and of felony in forming a design to murder privy-counsellors.

WE have a very imperfect account of all the state trials during that age, which is a sensible defect in our history: But it appears, that some more regularity was observed in the management of this prosecution than had been usually employed in like cases. The witnesses were at least examined by the privy council; and though they were neither produced in court nor confronted with the prisoner (circumstances required by the strict principles of equity) their depositions were given in to the jury. The proof seems to have been very lame with regard to the treasonable part of the charge; and Somerset's defence was so satisfactory, that the peers gave verdict in his favour: The intention alone of assaulting the privy counsellors was supported by tolerable evidence; and the jury brought him in guilty of felony. The prisoner himself confessed, that he had mentioned the design of murdering Northumberland and the other lords; but had not formed any resolution on that head: And when he received sentence, he asked pardon of those peers for the designs, which he had hearkened to against them. The people, by whom Somerset was beloved, hearing the first part of his sentence, by which he was absolved from treason, expressed their joy by loud acclamations: But their satisfaction was suddenly

C H A P.
XXXV.
1551.

*Trial of
Somerset.*

1st Dec.

CHAP. suddenly damped, on finding that he was condemned to
XXXV. death for felony ^F.

1552.

His execution 22d. Jan.

CARE had been taken by Northumberland's emissaries, to prepossess the young king against his uncle; and lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, and the prince was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such kindness, that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon^G. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relique; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with a like doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime. Somerset indeed, though many actions of his life were very exceptionable, seems, in general, to have merited a better fate; and the faults which he committed, were owing to weakness, not to any bad intentions. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness, he was ill-fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences, to which that age was so much addicted. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, all of them Somerset's friends, were brought to their trial, condemned and executed: Great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution. Lord Paget, chancellor of the dutchy, was, on some pretence, tried in the Star-chamber, and condemned in a fine of 6000 pounds, with the loss of his office. To mortify him the more, he was degraded from the order of the garter; as unworthy, on account of his mean birth, to share that honour^H. Lord Rich, chancellor, was also compelled to resign his office, on the discovery of some friendship, which he had shewn to Somerset.

22d Jan.
A parliament.

THE day after the execution of Somerset, a session of parliament was held, where farther advances were made towards the establishment of the reformation. The new

^F Hayward, p. 320, 321, 322. Stowe, p. 606. Holingshed, p. 1067. ^G Hayward, p. 324, 325. ^H Stowe, p. 608.

new liturgy was authorised; and penalties were enacted C H A P. against all such as absented themselves from public wor- XXXV.
ship^H. To use the mass had already been prohibited
under very severe penalties; so that the reformers, it ap- 1552.
pears, whatever scope they had given to their own private judgment, in disputing the tenets of the antient religion, were resolved not to allow the same privilege to others; and the practice, nay the very doctrine of toleration, was, at that time, equally unknown to all sects and parties. To dissent from the religion of the magistrate was universally conceived to be as criminal as to question his title, or rebel against his authority.

A LAW was enacted against usury; that is, against taking any interest for money^I. This act was the effect of antient superstitions; but being found extremely iniquitous in itself, as well as prejudicial to commerce, it was afterwards repealed in the twelfth of Elizabeth. The common rate of interest, notwithstanding the law, was at that time 14 per cent^K.

A BILL was introduced by the ministry into the house of lords, renewing those rigorous statutes of treason, which had been abrogated in the beginning of this reign; and though the peers, by their high station, stood most exposed to these tempests of state, yet had they so little regard to public security, or even to their own true interests, that they passed the bill with only one dissenting voice^L. But the commons rejected it, and prepared a new bill, that passed into a law, by which it was enacted, that whoever should call the king or any of his heirs, named in the statute of the 35th of the last reign, heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should forfeit, for the first offence, their goods and chattles, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should incur a *præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted of treason. But if any should unadvisedly advance such a slander in writing, printing, painting, carving or graving, he was, for the first offence, to be held a traitor^M. It may be worthy of notice, that the king and his next heir, the lady Mary, were professedly of different religions; and religions, which threw on each other

^H 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. ^I Ib. c. 20. ^K Hayward, p. 318. ^L Parliamentary hist. vol. iii. p. 258. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 190. ^M 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

CHAP. other the imputation of heresy, schism, idolatry, prophaneness, blasphemy, wickedness, and all the opprobrious epithets, that religious zeal has invented. It was almost impossible, therefore, for the people, if they spoke at all on these subjects, not to fall into the crime, so severely punished by this statute; and the jealousy of the commons for liberty, tho' it led them to dissent from the lords, appears not to have been very active, vigilant, or clear-sighted.

1552.

THE commons annexed to this bill a clause which was of much more importance than the bill itself, that no one should be convicted of any kind of treason, unless the crime was proved by the oaths of two witnesses, who were confronted with the prisoner. The lords scrupled to pass this clause, though required by the most obvious principles of equity. But the members of that house trusted for protection to their present personal interest and power, and neglected the noblest and most permanent security, that of laws.

A BILL was introduced into the house of peers for making a provision for the poor; but the commons not chusing that a money-bill should begin in the upper-house, framed a new bill to the same purpose. By this bill, the churchwardens were empowered to collect charitable contributions for the poor; and if any refused to give, or dissuaded others from that charity, the bishop of the diocese was impowered to proceed against them. Such large discretionary powers, entrusted to the prelates, seemed as proper an object of jealousy as the authority assumed by the peers^N.

THERE was another occasion in which the parliament reposed an unusual confidence in the bishops. They impowered them, to proceed against such as neglected the sabbaths and holidays^O. But these were unguarded concessions granted to the church: The general humour of the age rather led men to bereave the ecclesiastics of all power, and even to pillage them of their property: many clergymen, about this time, were obliged for a subsistence to turn carpenters or taylors, and some kept ale-houses^P. The bishops themselves were generally reduced to poverty, and

^N 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 2.

^O Ibid. cap. 3.

^P Burnet,

vol. ii. p. 202.

and held both their revenues and spiritual office by a very precarious tenure. CHAP. XXXV.

TONSTAL, bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his own personal merit; his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He had opposed, by his vote and authority, all the innovations in religion; but so soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to each system of religion, which was established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed, not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think, that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity. The general regard, paid to his character, had preserved him from any severe treatment during the protectorship of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the ascendant, he was thrown into prison; and as that rapacious nobleman had formed a design of appropriating the revenues of the see of Durham, and establishing to himself a principality in the northern counties, he was resolved, in order to effectuate his purpose, to deprive Tonstal of his bishopric. A bill of attainder, therefore, on pretence of misprision of treason, was introduced into the house of peers against that prelate; and it passed with the opposition only of lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, and of Cranmer, who always bore a cordial and sincere friendship to the bishop of Durham. But when the bill was sent down to the commons, they required, that witnesses should be examined, that Tonstal should be allowed to defend himself, and that he should be confronted with his accusers: And when these demands were refused, they rejected the bill.

THIS equity, so unusual in the parliament during that age, was ascribed by Northumberland and his partizans, not to any regard for liberty and justice, but to the prevalence of Somerset's faction, in a house of commons, which, being chosen during the administration of that nobleman, had been almost entirely filled with his creatures. They were confirmed in this opinion, when they found, that a bill, ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices, was also rejected by the commons, tho' it had passed the upper house. A resolution was therefore

1552.

15th Apr.

taken

X

CHAP. taken to dissolve the parliament, which had sat during
XXXV. this whole reign; and soon after to summon a new one.

1552. NORTHUMBERLAND, in order to ensure to himself
A new a house of commons entirely obsequious to his will, ven-
parlia- tured on an expedient, which could not have been prac-
ment. tised, or even imagined, in an age, when there was any
idea or comprehension of liberty. He engaged the king
to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he
enjoined them to inform the freeholders and voters,
that they were required to choose men of knowledge and
experience for their representatives. After this general
exhortation, the king continued in these words: " And
" yet, nevertheless, our pleasure is, that where our pri-
" vy council, or any of them, shall, in our behalf, re-
" commend, within their jurisdiction, men of learning
" and wisdom; in such cases, their directions shall be
" regarded and followed, as tending to the same end
" which we desire, that is, to have this assembly com-
" posed of the persons in our realm the best fitted to give
" advice and good counsel &c." Several letters were
sent from the king, recommending members to particular
counties, Sir Richard Cotton for Hampshire; Sir Wil-
liam Fitz-williams and Sir Henry Nevil for Berkshire;
Sir William Drury and Sir Henry Benningfield for Suf-
folk, &c. But tho' some counties only received this
species of *conge d'elire* from the king; the recommenda-
tions from the privy council and the counsellors we may
fairly presume, would extend to the greatest part, if not
to the whole, of the kingdom.

It is remarkable, that this attempt was made during
the reign of a minor king, when the royal authority is
usually weakest; that it was patiently submitted to; and
that it gave so little umbrage as scarce to be taken notice
of by any historian. The painful and laborious collector
above-cited, who never omits the most trivial matters,
is the only person that has thought this memorable let-
ter worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

1553. THE parliament answered Northumberland's expecta-
18. Mar. tions. As Tonsal had been deprived of his bishopric af-
ter a very arbitrary manner, by the sentence of lay com-
missioners, appointed to try him, the see of Durham was
by act of parliament divided into two bishoprics, which
had

had certain portions of the revenue assigned them. The CHAP. regalities of the see, which included the jurisdiction of a XXXV. count palatine, were given by the king to Northumberland; and it was not to be doubted but that nobleman had also proposed to make rich plunder of the revenue, as was then the usual practice of the courtiers, whenever a bishopric became vacant. 1553.

THE commons gave the ministry another mark of attachment, which was at that time the most sincere of any, the most cordial, and the most difficult to be obtained: They granted a supply of two subsidies and two fifteenths. To render this present the more acceptable, they voted a preamble, containing a long accusation of Somerset, "for involving the king in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and giving occasion for a most terrible rebellion R."

THE debts of the crown were at this time very considerable. The king had received from France 400,000 crowns on delivering Boulogne; he had reaped profits from the sale of some chantry lands; the churches had been despoiled of all their plate and rich ornaments, which, by a decree of council, without any pretence of law or equity; had been converted to the king's use S: Yet such had been the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown owed about 300,000 pounds T; and great dilapidations were, at the same time, made of the royal demesnes. The young prince shewed, among other virtues; a disposition to frugality, which, had he lived, would soon have retrieved these losses: But as his health was declining very fast, the present emptiness of the exchequer was a sensible obstacle to the execution of those projects, which the ambition of Northumberland had founded on the prospect of Edward's approaching end.

THAT nobleman represented to the prince, whom *Succession* youth and an infirm state of health made susceptible of *changed* every impression, that his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both of them been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; and though Henry by his will had restored them to a place in the succession, the nation would never bear to see the throne of England filled by a bastard:

X 2

That

R 7 Edw. VI. cap. 12. S Heylin, p. 95, 132. T Strype's Ecclesiastical Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 344.

CHAP. That they were only the king's sisters by the half-blood ;
XXXV. and even if they were legitimate, could not enjoy the

1553. crown as his heirs and successors: That the queen of Scots stood excluded by the king's will; and being an alien, lost by the law all the right of inheriting; not to mention, that, as she was betrothed to the dauphin, she would, by her succession, render England, as she had already done Scotland, a province to France: That the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the abolition of the protestant religion, the repeal of those laws enacted in favour of the reformation, and the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome: That fortunately for England, the same order of succession, which justice required, was also the most conformable to public interest; and there was not on any side any just ground for doubt or deliberation: That when these three princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved to the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter to the French queen and the duke of Suffolk: That the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Gray, a lady of the most amiable virtue, accomplished by the best education, both in literature and religion; and every way worthy of a throne: And that even, if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power, which his father enjoyed; and might leave her the crown by letters patent. These reasonings made impression on the young prince; and above all, his zealous affection for the protestant religion made him apprehend the consequences, if so bigotted a catholic as his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. And though he bore a tender affection to the lady Elizabeth, who was liable to no such objection, means were found to persuade him, that he could not exclude the one sister, on account of illegitimacy, without also giving an exclusion to the other.

NORTHUMBERLAND, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. Two sons of the duke of Suffolk by a second venter having died, this season, of the sweating sickness, that title was extinct; and Northumberland engaged the king to bestow it on the marquis of Dorset. By means of this favour and of others, which

which he conferred upon him, he persuaded the new duke of Suffolk and the dutchess, to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley. In order to fortify himself by farther alliances, he negociated a marriage between the lady Catherine Grey, second daughter of Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke. He also married his own daughter to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon^v. These marriages were solemnized with great pomp and festivity; and the people, who hated Northumberland, could not forbear expressing their indignation at seeing such public demonstrations of joy, during the languishing state of the young prince's health.

EDWARD had been seized in the foregoing year, first with the measles, then with the small-pox; but having perfectly recovered from both these distempers, the nation entertained hopes, that they would only serve to confirm his health; and he had afterwards made a progress through some parts of the kingdom. It was suspected, that he had there overheated himself in exercise: He was seized with a cough, which proved obstinate, and gave way neither to regimen nor medicines: Several fatal symptoms of a consumption appeared; and though it was hoped, that, as the season of the year advanced, his youth and temperance might get the better of the malady, men saw with great concern his bloom and vigour insensibly decay. The general attachment to the young prince, joined to the hatred borne the Dudleys, made it be remarked, that Edward had every moment declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley had been put about him, in the quality of gentleman of the bedchamber.

THE languishing state of Edward's health made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king: He himself attended him with the greatest assiduity; He pretended the most anxious concern for his health and welfare: And by all these artifices he prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two judges, with the attorney and solicitor-general, were sent for to the council; where, after the

minutes

^v Heylin, p. 109. Stowe, p. 609.

CHAP. minutes of the intended deed were read to them, the
 XXXV. king required them to draw them up in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey this order; and desired time to consider of it. The more they reflected,

1553.

the greater danger they found in compliance. The settlement of the crown by Henry the eighth had been made in consequence of an act of parliament; and by another act, passed in the beginning of this reign, it was declared treason in any of the heirs, their aiders or abettors, to attempt on the right of another, or change the order of succession. The judges pleaded these reasons before the council. They urged, that such a patent as was intended would be entirely invalid; that it would subject, not only the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason; and that the only proper expedient, both to give sanction to the new settlement, and free its partizans from danger, was to summon a parliament, and to obtain the consent of that assembly. The king said, that he intended afterwards to follow that method, and would call a parliament, in which he proposed to have his settlement ratified; but in the mean time, he required the judges, on their allegiance, to draw the patent in the form required. The council told the judges, that their refusal would subject all of them to the pains of treason. Northumberland gave to Montague the appellation of traitor; and said that he would in his shirt fight any man in so just a cause as that of lady Jane's succession. The judges were reduced to great difficulties between the dangers of the law, and those arising from the violence of present power and authority ^x.

THE arguments were canvassed in several different meetings between the council and the judges; and no solution could be found of the present difficulties. At last, Montague proposed an expedient, which satisfied both his brethren and the counsellors. He desired, that a special commission should be passed by the king and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown; and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence, which they might have incurred by their compliance. When the patent was drawn and brought to the bishop of Ely, chancellor, in order to pass the great seal, that prelate required, that

all

^x Fuller, book viii. p. 2.

all the judges should sign it. Gosnald at first refused; and it was with much difficulty, that he was prevailed on, by the violent menaces of Northumberland, to comply; but the constancy of Sir James Hales, who, though a zealous protestant, preferred justice on this occasion to the prejudices of his party, could not be shaken by any expedient. The chancellor next required, for his greater security, that all the privy counsellors should set their hands to the patent: The intrigues of Northumberland, or the fears of his violence, were so prevalent, that the counsellors complied with this demand. Cranmer alone hesitated during some time, but yielded at last to the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the king^r. Cecil, at that time secretary of state, pretended afterwards, that he only signed as a witness to the king's subscription. And thus, by the king's letters patent, the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were set aside; and the crown was settled on the heirs of the dutchess of Suffolk: For the dutchess herself was content to be postponed to her daughter.

AFTER this settlement was made, with so many inauspicious circumstances, Edward declined visibly every day; and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms encreased to the most violent degree: He felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. *and death. 6th July.*

ALL the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellencies of this young prince; whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of the most tender affections of the public. He possessed mildness of disposition, application to study and business, a capacity to learn and judge, and an attachment to equity and justice. He seems only to have contracted, from his education and from the age in which he

CHAP. he lived, too much of a narrow prepossession in matters
 XXXV. of religion, which made him incline somewhat to bigo-
 try and persecution: But as the bigotry of protestants,
 1553. less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than
 that of catholics, the effects of this malignant quality
 were the less to be apprehended, if a longer life had been
 granted to young Edward,

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVI.

M A R Y.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen. — Deserted by the people. — The queen proclaimed and acknowledged. — Northumberland executed. — Catholic religion restored. — A parliament. — Deliberations with regard to the queen's marriage. — Queen's marriage with Philip. — Wyatt's insurrection — Suppressed. — Execution of Lady Jane Gray. — A parliament. — Philip's arrival in England.

THE title of the princess Mary to the crown, after the decease of her brother, was not liable to any considerable difficulty; and the objections, started by the lady Jane's partizans, were new and unheard of by the nation. Though all the protestants, and even many of the catholics, believed the marriage of Henry the eighth with Catherine of Arragon to be unlawful and invalid; yet as it had been contracted by the parties without any criminal intention, had been avowed by their parents, recognized by the nation, and seemed founded on those principles of law and religion, which then prevailed, very few imagined, that their issue ought on that account to be regarded as illegitimate. A declaration to that purpose had indeed been extorted from parliament by the usual violence and caprice of Henry; but as that monarch had afterwards been induced to restore his daughter to the right of succession, her title was now become as legal and parliamentary as it was ever esteemed just and natural. The public had been long familiarized to these sentiments: During all the reign of Edward, the princess was regarded as his lawful successor: And though the protestants dreaded the effects of her prejudices, the extreme hatred, universally entertained against the Dudleys^A, who, men foresaw, would, under the name of Jane, be the real sovereigns, was more than sufficient to counterbalance, even with that party, the attachment to religion. This last attempt, to violate the order of succession, had displayed Northumberland's ambition and injustice

^A Sleiden, lib. 25.

CHAP. justice in a full light; and when the people reflected on
 XXXVI. the long train of fraud, iniquity and cruelty, by which
 1553. that project had been conducted; that the lives of the
 two Seymours, as well as the title of the princesses, had
 been sacrificed to it; they were moved by indignation to
 exert themselves in opposition to such criminal enterprizes.
 The general veneration also, paid to the memory of Hen-
 ry the eighth, prompted the nation to defend the rights
 of his posterity; and the miseries of the antient civil
 wars, were not so entirely forgotten, that men were wil-
 ling, by a departure from the lawful heir, to incur the
 danger of like bloodshed and confusion.

NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition
 which he must expect, had carefully concealed the desti-
 nation made by the king; and in order to bring the two
 princesses into his power, he had the precaution to engage
 the council, before Edward's death, to write to them in
 that prince's name, desiring their attendance, on pretence
 that his infirm state of health required the assistance of
 their council and the consolation of their company^B. Ed-
 ward expired before their arrival; but Northumberland,
 in order to make the princesses fall into the snare, kept
 the king's death still secret; and the lady Mary had al-
 ready reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of
 the court. Happily, the earl of Arundel sent her private
 intelligence, both of her brother's death and of the con-
 spiracy formed against her^C: She^D immediately made
 haste to retire; and arrived by quick journies, first at
 Kenning-hall in Norfolk, then at Framlingham in Suf-
 folk; where she proposed to embark and retire to Flan-
 ders, in case she should find it impossible to defend her
 right of succession. She wrote letters to the nobility and
 most considerable gentry in every county of England;
 commanding them to assist her in the defence of her
 crown and person. And she dispatched a message to the
 council; by which she notified to them, that her bro-
 ther's death was no longer a secret to her, promised them
 pardon for past offences, and required them immediate-
 ly to give orders for proclaiming her in London^D.

NORTHUMBERLAND found that farther dissimulation
 was fruitless: He went to Sion-house^E, accompanied
 with

^B Heylin. p. 154.
 vol. iii. p. 14.

^C Burnet, vol. ii. p. 233.
^E Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2.

^D Fox,

With the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprize, that she received intelligence of them^F. She was a lady of an amiable person, engaging disposition, and accomplished parts; and being of an equal age with the late king, she had received all her education with him, and seemed even to possess a greater facility in acquiring every part of manly and polite literature. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements, usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having at one time paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park; and on his admiring the singularity of her choice, she told him, that she received more pleasure from that author than the others could reap from all their sport and gaiety^G. Her heart, full of this passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of tenderness towards her husband, who was deserving of her affections, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition; and the information of her advancement to the throne was by no means agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprize so dangerous, not to say so criminal; and desired to remain in that private station, in which she was born. Overcome at last with the entreaties, rather than reasons, of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. It was then usual for the kings of England, after their accession, to pass the first days in the tower; and Northumberland immediately conveyed thither the new sovereign^H. All the counsellors were obliged to attend her

to

C H A P.
XXXVI.
1553.
*Lady Jane
Gray pro-
claimed
Queen.*

^F Godwin in Kennet, p. 329. Heylin, p. 149. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 234.

^G Ascham's works, p. 222, 223.

^H Heylin, p. 159.

CHAP. to that fortress; and by this means became, in some mea-
 XXXVI. sure, prisoners in the hands of Northumberland, whose
 will they were necessitated to obey. Orders were given
 1553. by the council, to proclaim Jane throughout the king-
 dom; but these orders were executed only in London,
 and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: The
 people heard the proclamation with silence and concern:
 Some even expressed their scorn and contempt: And one
 Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was severely punished for this
 offence^l. The protestant teachers themselves, who were
 employed to convince the people of Jane's title, found
 their eloquence fruitless^j; and Ridley, bishop of Lon-
 don, who preached a sermon to that purpose, wrought
 no effect upon his audience^k.

THE people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their atten-
 dance on Mary. As they were much attached to the
 reformed communion, they could not forbear, amidst
 their tenders of duty, expressing their apprehension for
 the protestant religion; but when she assured them, that
 she never meant to change the laws of Edward, they en-
 listed themselves in her cause with zeal and affection.
 The nobility and gentry flocked to her daily, and brought
 her reinforcement. The earls of Bath and Suffex, the
 eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, Sir
 William Drury, Sir Henry Benningfield, Sir Henry Jer-
 negan, persons whose interest lay in the neighbourhood,
 appeared at the head of their tenants and retainers^m.
 Sir Edward Hastings, brother of the earl of Huntingdon,
 having received a commission from the council to make
 levies for the lady Jane in Buckinghamshire, carried over
 his troops, which amounted to four thousand men, and
 joined queen Mary. Even a fleet, which had been sent
 by Northumberland to lie off the coast of Suffolk, being
 forced into Yarmouth by a storm, was engaged to declare
 for that princess.

NORTHUMBERLAND, hitherto blinded by ambition,
 saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not
 to

^l Heylin, p. 160. ^j Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 162.
 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 236, 238. ^k Stowe, p. 611. Holingshed,
 p. 1087. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 3. ^l Fox, vol. iii. p.
 15. Baker, p. 314. Speed, p. 816. ^m Heylin, p. 160.
 Burnet, vol. ii. p. 237.

to what hand to turn himself. He had levied forces, CH 4 P. which were assembled at London; but dreading the cabals of the courtiers and counsellors, whose compliance, he knew, had been entirely the result of fear or artifice, he was resolved to keep near the person of the lady Jane, and send Suffolk to command the army. But the counsellors, who wished to remove him^N, working on the filial tenderness of Jane, magnified to her the danger, to which her father would be exposed; and represented, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by suppressing formerly a rebellion in those parts, was much more proper to command in that enterprize. The duke himself, who knew the slender capacity of Suffolk, began to think, that none but himself was able to encounter the present danger; and he agreed to take on him the command of the troops. The counsellors attended on him at his departure with the highest protestations of attachment, and none more than Arundel, his mortal enemy^O. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Grey, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, *God speed you*^P."

THE duke had no sooner reached St. Edmond's-bury, than he found his army, which never exceeded six thousand men, too weak to encounter the queen's Q, which amounted to double the number. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement; and the counsellors immediately laid hold of this incident to free themselves from their confinement. They left the tower, *Lady Jane* as if they meant to execute Northumberland's commands; *deserted by* but being assembled in Baynard's castle, a house belonging to Pembroke, they deliberated concerning the method of shaking off his usurped tyranny. Arundel began the conference, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, the exorbitancy of his ambition, the criminal enterprize which he had projected, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole council; and he asserted, that the only method of making atonement for their

^N Godwin, p. 330. Heylin, p. 159. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Fox, vol. iii. p. 15. ^O Heylin, p. 161. Baker, p. 315. Holingshed, p. 1086. ^P Speed, p. 816. ^Q Godwin, p. 331.

CHAP. their past offences, was by a prompt return to the duty,
 XXXVI. which they owed their lawful sovereign^R. This motion
 was seconded by Pembroke, who, clapping his hand to
 1553. his sword, swore he was ready to fight any man that expressed himself of a contrary sentiment. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Even Suffolk, who commanded in the tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. The lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned to a private life with much more satisfaction than she felt, when the royalty was tendered to her^S: And the messengers who were sent to Northumberland, with orders to lay down his arms, found that he had despaired of success, was deserted by all his followers, and had already proclaimed the queen, with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction^T. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment: And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied, in order to support their joint title against the usurper^V.

*The queen
 proclaimed
 and acknowledged.*

THE queen gave orders for taking into custody the duke of Northumberland, who fell on his knees to the earl of Arundel that arrested him, and abjectly begged his life^W. At the same time were committed, the earl of Warwic, his eldest son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates. The queen afterwards confined the duke of Suffolk, the lady Jane Gray, and lord Guilford Dudley. But Mary was desirous, in the beginning of her reign, to acquire popularity by the appearance of clemency; and because the counsellors pleaded constraint, as an excuse for their treason, she extended her pardon to most of them. Suffolk

^R Godwin, p. 331, 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. ^S Godwin, p. 332. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2. ^T Stowe, p. 612.
^V Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240. Heylin, p. 19. Stowe, p. 613.
^W Burnet, vol. ii. p. 239. Stowe, p. 612. Baker, p. 315.
 Holingshed, p. 1088.

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folk himself recovered his liberty; and he owed this indulgence, in a great measure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial, he only desired permission to ask two questions of the peers, appointed to sit on his jury; whether a man could be guilty of treason that obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and whether those who were involved in the same guilt with himself, could act as his judges? Being told, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons, not lying under any sentence of attainder, were still innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury^x; he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. At his execution, he made profession of the catholic religion, and told the people, that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors: Whether that such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly concealed, from interest and ambition, or that he hoped, by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family^y. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered with him; and this was all the blood spilt on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford; but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

WHEN Mary first arrived in the tower, the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained prisoner during all the last reign; Courtney, son to the marquis of Exeter, who, without being charged with any crime, had been subjected to the same punishment ever since his father's attainder; Gardiner, Tonstal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic cause, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection^a. They were all of them restored to their liberty,

^x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 243. Heylin, p. 18. Baker, p. 316. Holingshed, p. 1089. ^y Heylin, p. 19. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 243. Stowe, p. 614. ^a Heylin, p. 20. Stowe, p. 613. Holingshed, p. 1088.

CHAP. ty, and immediately admitted to her confidence and fa-
 XXXVI. vour. Norfolk's attainder, notwithstanding that it had
 1553. passed in parliament, was represented as null and invalid;
 because, among other informalities, no special matter had
 been alledged against him, except wearing a coat of
 arms, which he and his ancestors, without giving any
 offence, had always made use of, in the face of the court
 and of the whole nation. Courtney soon after received
 the title of earl of Devonshire; and though educated in
 such close confinement, that he was altogether unac-
 quainted with the world, he soon acquired all the accom-
 plishments of a courtier and a gentleman, and made a
 considerable figure during the few years, which he lived
 after he recovered his liberty^b. Besides performing all
 those popular acts, which, though they only affected in-
 dividuals, were very acceptable to the nation, the queen
 endeavoured to ingratiate herself with the public, by
 granting a general pardon, though with some exceptions,
 and by remitting the subsidy voted to her brother by the
 last parliament^c.

THE joy arising from the succession of the lawful heir,
 and from the gracious demeanour of the sovereign, hin-
 dered not the people from being agitated with great an-
 xiety concerning the state of religion; and as the bulk of
 the nation inclined to the protestant communion, appre-
 hensions were generally entertained of the principles and
 prejudices of the new queen. The legitimacy of Mary's
 birth had appeared to be somewhat connected with the
 papal authority; and as that princess was educated with
 her mother, she had imbibed the strongest attachment to
 the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to those
 new tenets, whence, she believed, all the misfortunes of
 her family had originally sprung. The discouragements,
 which she lay under from her father, though at last they
 brought her to comply with his will, tended still more to
 encrease her disgust to the reformers; and the vexations,
 which the protector and the council gave her, during
 Edward's reign, had no other effect than to confirm her
 farther in her prejudices. Naturally of a sour and obsti-
 nate temper, and irritated by contradictions and misfor-
 tunes, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a
 bigot;

^b Depeches de Noailles, voi. ii. p. 246, 247.
 616.

^c Stowe,

bigot; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation, therefore, had great reason to dread, not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary; and it was not long before she discovered her intentions.

GARDINER, Bonner, Tonsal, Day, Heath, Vesey, *Catholic* were reinstated in their sees, either by a direct act of *religion* power, or, what is nearly the same, by the sentence of *restored.* commissioners, appointed to review their process and condemnation. Though the bishopric of Durham had been dissolved by authority of parliament, the queen erected it anew by letters-patent, and replaced Tonsal in his regalities as well as in his revenue. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence^B; and it was easy to foresee, that none but the catholics would be favoured with this privilege. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither old Latimer also was sent soon after^F. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Judge Hale, who had discovered such constancy in defending the queen's title, lost all his merit by an opposition to those illegal practices; and being committed to custody, was treated with such severity, that he fell into frenzy, and killed himself^G. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they presumed to plead the promise which the queen, when they enlisted themselves in her service, had given them, of maintaining the reformed religion: One, in particular, was set in the pillory, because he had been too peremptory, in recalling to her memory the engagements, which she had taken on that occasion. And though the queen still promised, in a public declaration before the council, to tolerate those who differed from her^H, men foresaw, that this engagement,

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like

^B Heylin, p. 25. ^P Fox, vol. iii. p. 16. ^S Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 26. ^F Godwin, p. 336. ^G Burnet, vol. ii. p. 247. ^F Fox, vol. iii. p. 15, 19. ^B Baker, p. 317. ^H Burnet, vol. ii. p. 245.

CHAP. like the former, would prove but a feeble security, when
XXXVI. set in opposition to religious prejudices.

1553. THE merits of Cranmer towards the queen, during the reign of Henry, had been considerable; and he had successfully employed his good offices in mitigating the severe prejudices, which that monarch had entertained against her¹. But the active part, which he had borne in promoting her mother's divorce, as well as in conducting the reformation, had made him the object of her hatred; and though Gardiner had been equally forward in soliciting and defending the divorce, he had afterwards made sufficient atonement, by his sufferings in defence of the catholic cause. The primate, therefore, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal, that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread, that Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, the archbishop, to wipe off this aspersion, drew up a manifesto in his own defence. Among other expressions, he there said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, so had he at this time stirred up his servants to prosecute Christ and his true religion: That the infernal spirit now endeavoured to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device; and in order to effectuate his purpose, had falsely made use of Cranmer's name and authority: And that the mass is not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or the practice of the primitive church, but likewise discovers a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings, and is besides replete with many horrid blasphemies^k. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted, in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him; and though his guilt was shared with the whole privy council, and was even less than that of the greatest part of them, this sentence, however severe, must

¹ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 240, 241. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336.
^k Fox, vol. iii. p. 94. Heylin, p. 25. Godwin, p. 336. Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. No. 8. Cranm. Mem. p. 305. Thuanus, lib. xiii. c. 2.

must be allowed entirely legal. The execution of it, CHAP. XXXVI.
however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for
a more cruel punishment.

PETER MARTYR, seeing a persecution gathering against the reformers, desired leave to withdraw ^L; and while some zealous catholics moved for his commitment, Gardiner both pleaded, that he had come over by an invitation from the government, and generously furnished him with supplies for his journey: But as bigotted zeal still encreased, his wife's body, which had been interred at Oxford, was afterwards dug up by public orders, and buried in a dunghill ^M. The bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge ^N. John a Lasco was first silenced, and then ordered to depart the kingdom with his congregation. The greater part of the foreign protestants followed him; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures. Several English protestants also took shelter in foreign parts; and every thing bore a dismal aspect for the reformation.

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DURING this revolution of the court, no protection ^{5th Oa.} was expected by the protestants from the parliament, ^{A parliament.} which was summoned to assemble. A zealous reformer ^O pretends, that great violence and iniquity were used in the elections; but besides that the authority of this writer is inconsiderable, that practice, as the necessities of government seldom required it, had not hitherto been often employed in England. There still remained such numbers devoted, by opinion or affection, to many principles of the antient religion, that the authority of the crown was able to give such candidates the prevalence in most elections; and all those, who scrupled compliance with the court religion, rather declined taking a seat, which, while it rendered them obnoxious to the queen, could afterwards afford them no protection against the violence of prerogative. It soon appeared, therefore, that, a majority of the commons would be obsequious to Mary's designs; and as the peers were mostly attached to the

Y 2

court,

^L Heylin, p. 26. Godwin, p. 336. Cranm. Mem. p. 317.

^M Heylin, p. 26. ^N Saunders de Schism. Anglic. ^O Beale.
But Fox, who lived at the time, and is very minute in his narratives, says nothing of the matter. See vol. iii. p. 16.

CHAP. court, from interest or expectations, little opposition was
XXXVI. expected from that quarter.

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IN opening the parliament, the court shewed a very signal contempt of the laws, by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the antient rites and ceremonies, though abolished by act of parliament^P. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, having refused to kneel at this service, was very severely handled, and was violently thrust out of the house. The queen, however, still retained the title of supreme head of the church of England; and it was generally pretended, that the intention of the court was only to restore religion to the same condition in which it had been left by Henry; but that the other abuses of popery, which were chiefly grievous to the nation, would never be revived.

THE first bill passed by the parliament was of a very popular nature, and abolished every species of treason, which was not contained in the statute of Edward the third, and every species of felony, which did not subsist before the first of Henry the eighth^R. The parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer^S, whom they greatly blamed on that account. No mention, however, is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. All the statutes of king Edward, with regard to religion, were repealed by one vote^T; and thereby the national religion was replaced on the same footing on which it stood at the death of Henry. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk was reversed; and this act of justice was much more reasonable than the declaring that attainder invalid without farther authority. Most of the clauses of the riot act, passed in the late reign, were revived: A step which eluded, in a great measure, the popular statute enacted at the first meeting of the parliament.

NOTWITHSTANDING the compliance of the two houses with the queen's inclinations, they had still a reserve

^P Fox, vol. iii. p. 19. ^Q Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252.

^R Mariz, sess. i. c. 1. By this repeal, though it was in general popular, the clause of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. was lost, which required the confronting two witnesses, in order to prove any treason. ^S Mariz, sess. 2. c. 1. ^T 1 Mariz, sess. 2. c. 12.

serve in certain articles; and her choice of a husband was, CH A P.
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in particular, of such importance to national interest, that they determined not to submit tamely, in that respect, to her will and pleasure. There were three marriages^w, concerning which it was supposed that Mary had deliberated after her accession to the crown. The first person proposed to her, was Courtney, earl of Devonshire, who, being an Englishman, nearly allied to the crown, could not fail to be acceptable to the nation; and as he was of an engaging person and address, he had gained visibly on the queen's affections^x, and hints were dropt him of her favourable dispositions towards him^y. But that nobleman neglected these overtures; and seemed rather to attach himself to the lady Elizabeth, whose youth and agreeable conversation he preferred to all the power and grandeur of her sister. This choice occasioned a great coldness of Mary towards Devonshire; and made her break out in a declared animosity against Elizabeth. The antient quarrel between their mothers had sunk deep into the malignant heart of the queen; and after the declaration made by parliament in favour of Catherine's marriage, she wanted not a pretence for representing the birth of her sister as illegitimate. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and as the young princess had made some difficulty of disguising her sentiments, very violent menaces had been employed to bring her to compliance^z. But when the queen found that Elizabeth had obstructed her views in a point, which, perhaps, touched her still more nearly, her resentment, excited by pride, knew no longer any bounds; and the princess was visibly exposed to the greatest danger^a. 1553.

CARDINAL Pole, who had never taken priest's orders, was another party proposed to the queen; and there appeared many reasons to induce her to make choice of this prelate. The high character of Pole for virtue and humanity; the great regard paid him by the catholic church, of which he had nearly reached the highest dignity on the death of Paul the third^b; the queen's affection

^w Thuan. lib. ii. c. 3. ^x Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 147, 163, 214, 215. vol. iii. p. 27. ^y Godwin, p. 339.
^z Dep. de Noailles, vol. ii. passim. ^a Heylin, p. 31. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 255. ^b Father Paul, book iii.

CHAP. on for the countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had
 XXXVI. once been her governess; the violent animosity to which
 he had been exposed on account of his attachment to the
 1553. Romish communion; all these considerations had a powerful influence on Mary. But the cardinal was now in the decline of life; and having contracted habits of study and retirement, he was represented to her as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business^c. The queen, therefore, dropt all views of that alliance: But as she entertained a great regard for Pole's wisdom and virtue, she still proposed to reap the benefit of his advice in the administration of her government. She secretly entered into a negotiation with Commendone, an agent of cardinal Dandino, legate at Brussels; she sent assurances to the pope, then Julius the third, of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see; and she desired that Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office^d.

THESE two marriages being rejected, the queen cast her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which, during her own distresses, had always afforded her countenance and protection. Charles the fifth, who a few years before was almost absolute master of Germany, had exercised his power in such an arbitrary manner, that he gave extreme disgust to the nation, who apprehended the total extinction of their privileges from the encroachments of that monarch^e. Religion had served him as a pretence for his usurpations; and from the same principle he met with that opposition, which overthrew his grandeur, and dashed all his ambitious hopes. Maurice, elector of Saxony, enraged that the landgrave of Hesse, who, by his advice, and on his assurances, had put himself into the emperor's hands, should be unjustly detained a prisoner, formed a secret conspiracy among the protestant princes; and covering his intentions with the most artful disguises, he suddenly marched his forces against Charles, and narrowly missed becoming master of his person. The protestants flew to arms in every quarter; and their insurrection, aided by an invasion from France, reduced the emperor

^c Heylin, p. 31.
 lib. iv. c. 17.

^d Burnet, vol. ii. p. 358

^e Thuanus,

emperor to such extremity, that he was obliged to submit to terms of peace, which ensured the independence of Germany. To retrieve his honour, he made an attack on France; and laying siege to Metz, with an army of a hundred thousand men, he conducted the enterprize in person, and seemed determined, at all hazards, to succeed in an undertaking which had attracted the attention of all Europe. But the duke of Guise, who defended Metz, with a garrison composed of the bravest nobility of France, exerted such vigilance, conduct, and valour, that the siege was protracted to the depth of winter; and the emperor found it dangerous to persevere any longer. He retired with the remains of his army, into the Low Countries, much dejected with that reverse of fortune, which in his declining years, had so fatally overtaken him.

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No sooner did Charles hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman, Mary, to the crown of England, than he formed the scheme of acquiring that kingdom to his family; and he hoped, by this incident, to balance all the losses which he had suffered in Germany. His son, Philip, was a widower; and though he was only twenty-seven years of age, eleven years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, to his marrying her, might easily be over-looked, and there was no reason to despair of her having still a numerous issue. The emperor, therefore, immediately sent over an agent to signify his intentions to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, to which she was ever strongly attached, readily embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget, gave their advice for the match: And Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded the project of the Spanish alliance; and represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of stopping all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage. He observed, that the parliament, amidst all their compliances, had discovered evident symptoms of jealousy, and seemed at present determined to make no further concessions in favour of the catholic religion:

That

CHAP. That though they might make a sacrifice to their sovereign of some speculative principles, which they did not well comprehend, or of some rites, which seemed not of

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any immediate importance, they had imbibed such strong prejudices against the pretended usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome, that they would with great difficulty be again brought to submit to its authority: That the danger of resuming the abbey lands would alarm the nobility and gentry, and induce them to encourage the prepossessions, which were too general among the people, against the doctrine and worship of the catholic church: That much pains had been taken to prejudice the nation against the Spanish alliance; and if that point was urged, at the same time with further changes in religion, it would hazard a general revolt and insurrection: That the marriage being once compleated, would give authority to the queen's measures, and enable her afterwards to forward that pious work, in which she was engaged: And that it was even necessary previously to reconcile the people to the marriage, by rendering the conditions extremely favourable to the English, and such as would seem to ensure to them their independency, and the entire possession of their antient laws and privileges^A.

THE emperor, well acquainted with the prudence and experience of Gardiner, assented to all these reasons; and he endeavoured to temper the zeal of Mary, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Hearing that cardinal Pole, more sincere in his religious opinions, and less guided by the maxims of civil policy, after having sent opposite advice to the queen, had set out on his journey to England, where he was to exercise his legantine commission; he thought proper to stop him at Dillinghen, a town on the Danube; and he afterwards obtained Mary's consent for this detention. The negociation for the marriage mean-while proceeded apace; and Mary's intentions to espouse Philip. became generally known to the nation. The commons, who hoped that they had gained the queen by the concessions which they had already made, were alarmed to hear, that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance; and they sent a committee to remonstrate in

^A Burnet, vol. ii. p. 261.

in strong terms against that dangerous measure. To prevent farther applications of the same kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament. C H A P. XXXVI.

A CONVOCATION had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. An offer was very frankly made by the Romanists, to dispute concerning the points controverted between the two communions; and as transubstantiation was the article, which of all others, they deemed the clearest, and founded on the most irresistible arguments, they chose to try their strength by defending it. The protestants pushed the dispute as far as the clamour and noise of their antagonists would permit; and they fondly imagined, that they had obtained some advantage, when, in the course of the debate, they obliged the catholics to avow, that, according to their doctrine, Christ had, in his last supper, held himself in his hand, and had swallowed and eat himself^B. This triumph, however, was confined only to their own party: The Romanists maintained, that their champions had clearly the better of the day; that their adversaries were blind and obstinate heretics; that nothing but the most extreme depravity of heart could induce men to contest such self-evident principles; and that the severest punishments were due to their perverse wickedness. So pleased were they with their superiority in this favourite point, that they soon after renewed the dispute at Oxford; and to shew, that they feared no force of learning or capacity, where reason was so evidently on their side, they sent thither Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, under a guard, to try whether these renowned controversialists could find any appearance of argument to defend their baffled principles^C. The issue of the debate was very different from what it appeared to be a few years before, in a famous conference, held at the same place during the reign of Edward.

AFTER the parliament and convocation were finished, the new laws with regard to religion, though they had been anticipated, in most places, by the zeal of the catholics, countenanced by the government, were still more openly put in execution: The mass was every where re-established;

^B Collier, vol. ii. p. 356. Fox, vol. iii. p. 22. Cranm. p. 354. Heylin, p. 50.

^C Mem.

CHAP. established; and marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office. It has been asserted by some

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writers, that three-fourths of the clergy were, at this time, deprived of their livings; though other historians, more accurate ^D, have estimated the number of sufferers to be far short of this proportion. Could any principles of law, justice or reason be attended to, where superstition predominates; the priests would never have been expelled for their past marriages, which at that time were permitted by the laws of the kingdom. A visitation was appointed, in order to restore more perfectly the mass and the ancient rites. Among other articles the commissioners were enjoined to forbid the oath of supremacy to be taken by the clergy on their receiving any benefice ^E. It is to be observed, that this oath had been established by the laws of Henry the eighth, which were still in force.

*Queen's
marriage
with Philip.*

THIS violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; and even affected indifferent spectators with concern, by the hardships, to which so many individuals were on that account exposed. But the Spanish match was a point of more general concern, and diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England. It was agreed, that though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs and privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of the children without the consent of the nobility; that sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled as her jointure; that the male issue of this marriage should inherit, together with England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die and his line be extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip ^F. Such was the treaty of marriage
signed

^D Harmer, p. 138. ^E Collier, vol. ii. p. 364. Fox, vol. iii. p. 38. Heylin, p. 35. Sleidan, lib. 25. ^F Rymer, xv. p. 377.

signed by count Egmont, and three other ambassadors CH A P.
sent over to England by the emperor^e. XXXVI.

THESE articles, when published, gave no satisfaction to the nation: It was universally said, that the emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly might it be concluded, that he had no serious intention of observing them: That the usual fraud and ambition of that monarch might assure the nation of such a conduct; and his son Philip, while he inherited these vices from his father, added to them tyranny, fullness, pride, and barbarity, more dangerous vices of his own: That England would become a province, and a province to a kingdom which usually exercised the most violent authority over all her dependant dominions: That the Netherlands, Milan, Sicily, Naples, groaned under the burthen of Spanish tyranny; and throughout all the new conquests in America there had been displayed scenes of unrelenting cruelty, hitherto unknown in the history of mankind: That the inquisition was a tribunal invented by that tyrannical nation; and would infallibly, with all their other laws and institutions, be introduced into England: And that the divided sentiments of the people with regard to religion would subje< multitudes to this iniquitous tribunal, and would reduce the whole nation to the most abje< servitude^H. 1554.
15th Jan.

THESE complaints, being diffused every where, prepared the people for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. But the king of France, though engaged in hostilities with the emperor, refused to concur in any proposal for an insurrection, lest he should afford Mary a pretext for declaring war against him^I. And the more prudent part of the nobility thought, that, as the evils of the Spanish alliance were only dreaded at a distance, matters were not yet fully prepared for a general revolt. Some persons, however, more turbulent than

^e Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 299. ^H Heylin. p. 32. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 268. Godwin, p. 39. ^I Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 249. vol. iii. p. 17. 58.

CHAP. than the rest, believed, that it would be safer to prevent
XXXVI. than to redress grievances; and they formed a conspiracy
 1554. to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage
 with Philip. Sir Thomas Wiat proposed to raise Kent,
 Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the
 duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown
 for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland coun-
 ties^K. Carew's impatience or apprehensions engaged
 him to break the concert, and to rise in arms before the
Wiat's in- day appointed: He was soon suppressed by the earl of
surrection. Bedford, and constrained to fly into France. On this in-
 telligence, Suffolk, dreading an arrest, suddenly left the
 town, with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord Leonard
 Grey; and endeavoured to raise the people in the coun-
 ties of Warwick and Leicester, where his interest lay:
 But he was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon,
 at the head of 300 horse, that he was obliged to disperse
 his retainers, and being discovered in his retreat, he was
 led prisoner to London^L. Wiat was at first more suc-
 cessful in his attempt; and having published a declaration
 at Maidstone in Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors
 and against the Spanish match, without any mention of
 religion, the people began to gather under his standard.
 The duke of Norfolk with Sir Henry Jernegan was sent
 against him, at the head of the guards and some other
 troops, reinforced with 500 Londoners commanded by
 Bret: And he came within sight of the rebels at Roches-
 ter, where they had fixed their head-quarters. Sir
 George Harper here pretended to desert from them;
 but having secretly gained Bret, these two persons so
 wrought on the Londoners, that that whole body desert-
 ed to Wiat, and declared that they would not contribute
 to enslave their native country. Norfolk, dreading the
 contagion of this example, immediately retreated with
 his troops, and took shelter in London^M.

AFTER this proof of the dispositions of the people,
 especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants,
 Wiat was encouraged to proceed; and he led his forces
 to Southwark, where he required of the queen, that she
 should put the tower into his hands, should deliver four
 counsellors

^K Heylin p. 33. Godwin, p. 340. ^L Fox, vol. iii.
 p. 30. ^M Heylin, p. 33. Godwin, p. 341. Stowe, p.
 619. Baker, p. 318. Holingshed, p. 1094.

counsellors as hostages, and in order to censure the liberty of the nation, should immediately marry an Englishman. Finding that the bridge was secured against him, and that the city was overawed, he marched up to Kingston, where he passed the river with 4000 men; and returning towards London, hoped to encourage his partizans, who had engaged to declare for him. He had imprudently wasted so much time at Southwark, and in his march from Kingston, that the critical season, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely lost; and though he entered Westminster without resistance, his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-Bar by Sir Maurice Berkley^N. Four hundred persons are said to have suffered for this rebellion^O: Four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks: and falling on their knees, received a pardon, and were dismissed. Wiat was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accused the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire as accomplices, he took care on the scaffold, before the whole people, fully to acquit them of having any share in his rebellion.

6th Feb.

*Insurrection
on suppressed.*

THE lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister; and many studied instances of discouragement and disrespect had been practised against her. She was ordered to take place at court after the countess of Lenox and the dutchess of Suffolk, as if she were not legitimate^P: Her friends were discountenanced on every occasion: And while her virtues, which were now become very eminent, drew to her the attendance of all the young nobility, and rendered her the favourite of the nation, the malevolence of the queen still discovered itself every day by fresh symptoms, and obliged the princess to retire into the country. Mary seized the opportunity of this rebellion; and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her

^N Fox, vol. iii. p. 31. Heylin, p. 34. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 270. Stowe, p. 621. ^O Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 124. ^P Depeches de Noailles, vol. ii. p. 273, 288. ^Q Ibid. p. 273.

CHAP. her under a strong guard, committed her to the tower,
 XXXVI. and ordered her to be very strictly examined by the
 council. But the public declaration made by Wiat rendered it impracticable to employ against her any false evidence, which might have offered; and the princefs made to good a defence, that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her^R. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was proffered her with the duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody, under a strong guard, at Wode-sloe^S. The earl of Devonshire, though equally innocent, was confined in Fotheringay castle.

1554.

BUT this rebellion proved still more fatal to the lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband: The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and though the rebels and malcontents seemed chiefly to rest their hopes on the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire, the queen, incapable of generosity or clemency, determined to remove every person, from whom the least danger could be apprehended. Warning was given the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which she had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes, to which she had been exposed, rendered nowise unwelcome to her. The queen's zeal, under colour of tender mercy to the prisoner's soul, induced her to send divines, who molsted her with perpetual disputation; and even a reprieve of three days was granted her, in hopes that she would be persuaded, during that time, to pay, by a timely conversion, some regard to her eternal welfare. The lady Jane had presence of mind, in these melancholy circumstances, not only to defend her religion by all the topics then in use, but also to write a letter to her sister^T in the Greek language; in which, besides sending her a copy of the Scriptures in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain, in every fortune, a like steady perseverance. On the day of her execution, her husband, lord Guilford, desired permission to see her; but she refused her consent, and informed him by a message, that the tenderness of their parting would

1246 Feb.

^R Godwin, p. 343. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 273. Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. 105. Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 85. ^S Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 226. ^T Fox, vol. iii. p. 35. Heylin, p. 166

would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that constancy, which their approaching end required of them: Their separation, she said, would be only for a moment; and they would soon rejoin each other in a scene, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes could no longer, have access to them, or disturb their eternal felicity ^v.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

1554.

It had been intended to execute the lady Jane and Lord Guilford together upon the same scaffold at Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed their orders, and gave directions that she should be beheaded within the verge of the tower. She saw her husband led to execution; and having given him from the window some token of her remembrance, she waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour should bring her to a like fate. She even saw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herself more confirmed by the reports, which she heard of the constancy of his end, than shaken by so tender and melancholy a spectacle. Sir John Gage, constable of the tower, when he led her to execution, desired her to bestow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her: She gave him her table-book, where she had just wrote three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body; one in Greek, another in Latin, a third in English ^x. The purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; and that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least, and her imprudence were worthy of excuse; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would shew her favour. On the scaffold, she made a speech to the by-standers; in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame entirely on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity, with which she had been treated. She said, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy: That she had less erred through ambition than through reverence to her parents, whom she had been taught to respect and obey: That she willingly received death, as the only satisfaction

*Execution
of lady
Jane Gray.*

^v Heylin, p. 167. Baker, p. 319. ^x Heylin, p. 167.

CHAP. tisfaction, which she could now make to the injured
 XXXVI. state; and though her infringement of the laws had been
 1554. constrained, she would shew, by her voluntary submission
 to their sentence, that she was desirous to atone for that
 disobedience, into which too much filial piety had be-
 trayed her: That she had justly deserved this punishment
 for being made the instrument, though the unwilling in-
 strument, of the ambition of others: And that the story
 of her life, she hoped, might at least be useful, by prov-
 ing that innocence excuses not great misdeeds, if they
 tend any wise to the destruction of the commonwealth.
 After uttering these words, she caused herself to be dis-
 robed by her women; and with a steady serene counte-
 nance submitted herself to the executioner ^y.

THE duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned and
 executed soon after; and would have met with more
 compassion, had not his own temerity been the cause of
 his daughter's untimely death. The lord Thomas Grey
 lost his life for the same crime. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton
 was tried in Guildhall; but there appearing no satisfacto-
 ry evidence against him, he was able, by making an ad-
 mirable defence, to obtain a verdict of the jury in his
 favour. The queen was so enraged at this disappoint-
 ment, that instead of releasing him as the law required,
 she re-committed him to the tower, and kept him in close
 confinement during some time. But her resentment stop-
 ped not here: The jury, being summoned before the coun-
 cil, were all of them sent to prison, and afterwards fined,
 some of them a thousand pounds, others two thousand a-
 piece ^z. This illegal violence proved fatal to several,
 among others to Sir John Throckmorton, brother to Sir
 Nicholas, who was condemned on no better evidence than
 had been formerly rejected. The queen filled the tower
 and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their
 interest with the people, rather than any appearance of
 guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion. And find-
 ing, she was universally hated, she determined to disable
 the people from resistance, by ordering general musters,
 and

^y Heylin, p. 167. Fox. vol. iii. p. 36. 37. Holingshed,
 p. 1039.

^z Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Stowe, p. 624. Baker,
 p. 320. Holingshed, p. 1104. 1121. Strype, vol. iii. p. 120.
 Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 173.

and directing the commissioners to seize their arms, and lay them up in forts and castles ^A. CH A P. XXXVI.

THOUGH the government laboured under so general an odium, the queen's authority had received such an increase from the suppression of Wiat's rebellion, that the ministry hoped to find a very compliant disposition in the new parliament, which was summoned to assemble. The emperor also, in order to facilitate the same end, had borrowed no less a sum than 400,000 pounds, which he had sent over to England, to be distributed in bribes and pensions among the members: A pernicious practice, of which there had not hitherto been any instance in England. And not to give the public any alarm with regard to the church lands, the queen, notwithstanding her bigotry, resumed her title as supreme head of the church, which she had dropped three months before. Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the session by a speech; in which he asserted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right to choose a husband for herself; observed how proper an use she had made of that right, by giving the preference to an old ally, descended from the house of Burgundy; and remarked the failure of Henry the eighth's posterity, of whom there now remained none but the queen and the lady Elizabeth. He added, that, in order to obviate the inconveniencies, which might arise from different pretenders, it was necessary to invest the queen, by law, with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor: A power, he said, which was not to be regarded as a new thing in England, since it had formerly been conferred on Henry the eighth ^B.

*A parliament.
5th April.*

THE parliament were much disposed to gratify the queen in all her desires; but when the liberty, independency, and very being of the nation were brought into such visible danger, they could not by any means be brought to compliance. They knew both the inveterate hatred, which she bore the lady Elizabeth, and her devoted attachment to the house of Austria: They were acquainted with her extreme bigotry, which would lead her to postpone all considerations of justice or national interest to the establishment of the catholic religion: They remarked, that Gardiner had carefully avoided, in

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Z

his

^A Dep. de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 98.

^B Ibid.

CHAP. his speech, the giving to Elizabeth the appellation of the
 XXXVI. queen's sister; and they thence concluded, that a design
 was formed of excluding her as illegitimate: They expected, that Mary, if invested with such a power as she required, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province of the Spanish monarchy: And they were the more alarmed with these projects, when they heard that Philip's descent from the house of Lancaster was carefully insisted on, and that he was publicly represented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

1554.

THE parliament, therefore, aware of their danger, were determined to keep at a distance from the precipice, which lay before them. They could not avoid ratifying the articles of marriage ^L, which were drawn very favourable for England; but they declined passing any such law as the chancellor pointed out to them: They would not so much as declare it treason to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, while she was alive; and a bill, introduced for that purpose, was laid aside after the first reading. The more effectually to cut off Philip's hopes of exerting any authority in England, they passed a law, in which they declared, "that her majesty, as their only queen, should solely and as a sole queen, enjoy the crown and sovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by the courtesy of the realm, or by any other means. ^M"

A LAW passed in this parliament for re-erecting the bishopric of Durham, which had been dissolved by the last parliament of Edward ^N. The queen had already, by an exertion of her absolute power, put Tostal in possession of that see: But though it was usual at that time for the crown to assume authority which might seem entirely legislative, it was always deemed more safe and satisfactory to procure the sanction of parliament. Bills were introduced for suppressing heterodox opinions contained in books, and for reviving the law of the six articles, together with those against the Lollards, and against

^L 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2.^M Ib. cap. 1.^N Ib. cap. 3.

against heresy and erroneous preaching: But none of these laws could pass the two houses. A proof, that the parliament had reserves even in their concessions with regard to religion; about which they seem to have been less scrupulous. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not serve all her purposes, finished the session by dissolving them. C H A P. XXXVI. 1554. 1b May.

MARY's thoughts were now entirely employed about receiving Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected. This prince, who had lived so many years in a very reserved and private manner, without any prospect or hopes of a husband, was so smitten with affection for her young spouse, whom she had never seen, that she waited with the utmost impatience for the completion of the marriage; and every obstacle was to her a source of anxiety and discontent^o: She complained of Philip's delays as affected; and she could not conceal her vexation, that, though she brought him a kingdom as a dowry, he treated her with such neglect, that he had never yet favoured her with a single letter^p. Her fondness was but the more increased by this supercilious treatment; and when she found that her subjects had entertained the greatest aversion for the event, to which she directed her fondest wishes, she made the whole English nation the object of her resentment. A squadron, under the command of lord Effingham, had been fitted out to convey Philip from Spain, where he then resided; but the admiral informing her, that the discontents ran very high among the seamen, and that it was not safe for Philip to entrust himself into their hands, she gave orders to dismiss them^q. She then dreaded that the French fleet, being masters of the sea, might intercept her husband; and every rumour of danger, every blast of wind, threw her into panics and convulsions. Her health, and even her understanding, were visibly hurt by this extreme impatience; and she was struck with a new apprehension, lest her person, impaired by time, and blasted by sickness, should render her less acceptable to her future consort. Her glass discovered to her how haggard she was become; and when she remarked the

Z 2

decay

^o Strype, vol. iii. p. 125. ^p Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 248. ^q Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 220.

CHAP. decay of her person, she knew not whether she ought
XXXVI. more to desire or apprehend the arrival of Philip^R.

1554. At last came the moment so impatiently expected;
19th July. and news was brought the queen of Philip's arrival at
Philip's Westminister; and having made a pompous entry into
arrival in London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great
England. ostentation, she carried him to Windsor, the palace in
which they afterwards resided. The prince's behaviour
was ill calculated to remove the prejudices, which the
English nation had entertained against him. He was distant
and reserved in his address; took no notice of the
salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so
entrenched himself in forms and ceremonies, that he was
in a manner inaccessible^T: But this circumstance rendered
him the more acceptable to the queen, who desired to
have no company but her husband's, and who was impatient
when she met with any interruption to her fondness.
The shortest absence gave her vexation; and when he
shewed civilities to any other woman, she could not conceal
her jealousy and resentment.

MARY soon found, that Philip's ruling passion was
ambition; and that the only method of gratifying him and
securing his affections was to render him master of England.
The interest and liberty of her people were considerations
of small moment, in comparison of her obtaining this
favourite point. She summoned a new parliament, in hopes
of finding them entirely compliant; and that she might
acquire the greater authority over them, she imitated the
precedent of the former reign, and wrote circular letters
directing a proper choice of members^U. The zeal of the
catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of
prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly
the protestants; all these causes, seconding the intrigues
of Gardiner, had procured her a house

12th November.

^R Depeches de Noailles, vol. iii. p. 222, 252, 253.

^S Fox, vol. iii. p. 99. Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 392. Godwin, p. 345. We are told by Sir William Monson, p. 225, that the admiral of England fired at the Spanish navy, when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their topsails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow seas. A very spirited behaviour, and very unlike those times. ^T Baker, p. 320. ^U Mem. of Cranm. p. 344. Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 154, 155.

house of commons, which was, in a great measure, to her satisfaction; and it was thought, from the disposition of the nation, that she might now safely omit, in her summons of the parliament, the title of *supreme head of the church*, though inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England^x. Cardinal Pole had arrived in Flanders, invested with legantine power from the pope: In order to prepare the way for his arrival in England, the parliament passed an act, reversing his attainder, and restoring his blood; and the queen, dispensing with the old statute of provisors, granted him permission to act as legate. The cardinal came over; and after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily separated. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true church; professing a sincere repentance for their past transgressions; declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome; and praying their majesties, that, since they were happily uninfected with that criminal schism, they would intercede with the holy father for their absolution and forgiveness^y. Their request was easily granted. The legate in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. The pope, then Julius the third, being informed of these transactions, said, that it was an unexpected instance of his felicity, to receive thanks from the English, for allowing them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extreme zeal of those times, for and against popery, the object always uppermost, with the nobility and gentry, was their money and estates; and they were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received repeated assurances, from the pope as well as the queen, that the

^x Burnet, vol. ii. p. 291. Strype, vol. iii. p. 155. ^y Fox, vol. iii. p. 3. Heylin, p. 42. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. Godwin, p. 247. ^z Father Paul, lib. iv.

C H A P. the plunder, which they had made of the ecclesiastics;
 XXXVI. should never be enquired into; and that the abbey and
 church lands should remain with the present possessors ^A.
 1554. But not trusting altogether to these promises, the parliament took care, in the law itself ^B, by which they repealed the former statutes enacted against the pope's authority, to insert a clause, in which, besides bestowing validity on all marriages celebrated during the schism, and fixing the right of incumbents to their benefices, they gave security to the possessors of church lands, and freed them from all danger of ecclesiastical censures. The convocation also, in order to remove all apprehensions on that head, were induced to present a petition to the same purpose ^C; and the legate, in his master's name, ratified all these transactions. It now appeared, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the queen and king, the power of the papacy was effectually suppressed, and invincible barriers fixed against its re-establishment. For though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was, for the present, restored, their property on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it. Even these arbitrary, powerful, and bigoted princes, while the transactions were yet recent, could not regain to the church her possessions so lately ravished from her; and no expedients were left the clergy for enriching themselves, but those which they had at first practised, and which had required many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition, to operate their effect on mankind ^D.

THE

^A Heylin, p. 41. ^B 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. ^C Heylin, p. 43. ^D 1 & 2 Phil & Mar c. 8. Strype, vol. iii. p. 159.

^D The pope at first gave cardinal Pole powers to transact only with regard to the past fruits of the church lands; but being admonished of the danger attending any attempt towards a retumption of the lands, he enlarged the cardinal's power, and granted him authority to ensure the future possession of the church lands to the present proprietors. There was only one clause in the cardinal's powers that has given occasion for some speculation. An exception was made of such cases as Pole should think important enough to merit the being communicated to the holy see. But Pole simply ratified the possession of all the church lands; and his commission had given him full powers to that purpose. See Harleyan Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 264.

THE parliament having secured their own possessions, were more indifferent with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow-citizens; and they revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics^E, which had been rejected in the former parliament. They also enacted several laws against seditious words and rumours^F; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen^G. Each parliament hitherto had been induced to go a step farther than their predecessors; but none of them had entirely lost all regard to national interests. Their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir of the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands; she failed in all her hopes, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation^H. All attempts likewise to obtain subsidies from the commons, in order to support the emperor in his war against France, proved fruitless; and the usual animosity and jealousy of the English against that kingdom, seemed to have given place, for the present, to like passions against Spain. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; lord Henry Dudley, Sir George Harper, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edmond Warner, Sir William St. Lo, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Harrington, Tremaine, who had been confined from the suspicions or resentment of the court^I. But nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protection of lady Elizabeth, from the spite and malice of the queen, and the restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly incapable; but of a refined policy, which made him foresee, that, if that princess were put

p. 264, 266. It is true, some councils have declared, that it exceeds even the power of the pope to alienate any church lands; and the pope, according to his convenience, may either adhere to or recede from this declaration.

^E 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 6. ^F Ibid. c. 3. 9. ^G Ibid. c. 10. ^H Godwin, p. 348. Baker, p. 322. ^I Heylin, p. 39. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 287. Stowe, p. 626. Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 146, 147.

C H A P. XXXVI. put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonshire also reaped some benefit from the affected popularity of Philip, and recovered his liberty: But that nobleman, finding himself exposed to suspicion, begged permission to travel ^K; and he soon after died in Padua, from poison, as is pretended, given him by the Imperialists. He was the eleventh and last earl of Devonshire of that noble family, one of the most illustrious in Europe.

1554.

THE queen's extreme desire of having issue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and when the legate was introduced to her, she fancied, that she felt the embryo stir in her womb ^L. Her flatterers compared this motion of the infant to that of John the Baptist, who leaped in his mother's belly at the salutation of the virgin ^M. Dispatches were immediately sent to inform foreign courts of this event: Orders were issued to give public thanks: Great rejoicings were made: The family of the young prince was already settled ^N; for the catholics held themselves assured that the child was to be a male: And Bonner, bishop of London, made public prayers be said, that Heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But the nation remained still somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded, that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. The belief, however, of her pregnancy was still maintained with all possible care; and was one artifice, by which Philip endeavoured to support his authority in the kingdom. The parliament passed a law, which, in case of the queen's death, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster-hall, and dissolved them.

1555.

16th Jan.

THERE happened a remarkable incident this session, which must not be passed over in silence. Several members of the lower house, dissatisfied with the measures of the

^K Heylin, p. 40. Godwin, p. 349. ^L Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 25. ^M Burnet, vol. ii. p. 292. Godwin, p. 348. ^N Heylin, p. 46.

the parliament, but finding themselves unable to prevent them, made a secession, in order to shew their disapprobation, and refused any longer to attend the house ^Q. For this instance of contumacy they were indicted in the King's-bench after the dissolution of the parliament: Six of them submitted to the mercy of the court, and paid their fines: The rest traversed; and the queen died before the affair was brought to an issue. Judging of the matter by the subsequent pretensions of the house of commons, and, indeed, by the true principles of free government, this attempt of the queen's ministers must be regarded as a breach of privilege; but it gave little umbrage at that time, and was never called in question by any future house of commons, which sat during this reign ^P.

C H A P.
XXXVI.

1555.

^Q Coke's Institutes, part iv. p. 17. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 165. ^P The Count of Noailles, the French ambassador, says, vol. v. p. 246, that the queen threw several members into prison for their freedom of speech.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVII.

*Reasons for and against toleration.—Persecutions.—
A parliament.—The queen's extortions.—The em-
peror resigns his crown.—Execution of Cranmer.—
War with France.—Battle of St. Quintin.—Calais
taken by the French.—Affairs of Scotland.—Mar-
riage of the Dauphin and the queen of Scots.—A par-
liament.—Death of the queen.*

C H A P.
XXXVII.

1555.

THE success, which Gardiner, from his cautious and prudent conduct, had met with in governing the parliament, and engaging them to concur both in the Spanish match, and in the re-establishment of the antient religion, two points, to which, it was believed, they bore an extreme aversion, had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was received as an oracle in the queen's councils; and his authority, as it was always great in his own party, no longer suffered any opposition or controul. Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved on account of his virtue and candour, and tho' superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations; and while his learning, piety, and humanity were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man than a great minister. A very important question was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by these two ecclesiastics; whether the laws lately revived against heretics should be put in execution, or should only be employed to restrain, by terror, the bold attempts of these zealots. Pole was very sincere in his religious principles; and though his moderation had made him be suspected at Rome of a tendency towards Lutheranism, he was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration of human policy ought ever come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner, on the contrary, had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety or advancement; and by his unlimited complaisance to Henry, he had shewn, that, had he not been pushed to extremity under the late minority, he was sufficiently disposed to make a sacrifice of his principles to the established theology. This was the well-known character of these

these two great counsellors; yet such is the prevalence of temper above system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets, which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support, by persecution, that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference^A. This circumstance of public conduct was of the highest importance; and from being the object of deliberation in the council, it soon became the subject of discourse throughout the nation. We shall represent, in a few words, the topics, by which each side supported, or might have supported, their scheme of policy; and shall display the opposite reasons, which have been employed, with regard to an argument that ever has been, and ever will be so much canvassed.

THE practice of persecution, said the defenders of Pole's opinion, is the scandal of all religion; and the theological animosity, so fierce and violent, far from being an argument of men's conviction in their opposite tenets, is a certain proof, that they have never reached any serious persuasion with regard to these remote and sublime subjects. Even those, who are the most impatient of contradiction in other controversies, are mild and moderate in comparison of polemical divines; and wherever a man's knowledge and experience give him a perfect assurance of his own opinion, he regards with contempt, rather than anger, the opposition and mistakes of others. But while men zealously maintain what they neither clearly comprehend, nor entirely believe, they are shaken in their imagined faith, by the opposite persuasion, or even doubts of other men; and vent on their antagonists that impatience, which is the natural result of so disagreeable a state of the understanding. They then embrace easily any pretence for representing opponents as impious and prophane; and if they can also find a colour for connecting this violence with the interests of civil government, they can no longer be restrained from giving uncontrouled scope to vengeance and resentment. But surely never enterprize was more unfortunate than that of founding persecution upon policy, or endeavouring, for the sake of peace, to settle an entire uniformity of opinion, in questions which, of all others, are least subjected to the criterion of human reason. The universal and

^A Heylin, p. 47.

CHAP. and uncontradicted prevalence of one opinion in religion
 XXXVII. subjects, can only be owing at first to the stupid igno-

1555.

rance and barbarism of the people, who never indulge themselves in any speculation or enquiry; and there is no other expedient for maintaining that uniformity, so fondly sought after, but by banishing for ever all curiosity and all improvement in science and cultivation. It may not, indeed, appear difficult to check, by a steady severity, the first beginnings of controversy: but besides that this policy exposes for ever the people to all the abject terrors of superstition, and the magistrate to the endless encroachments of ecclesiastics, it also renders men so delicate, that they can never endure to hear of opposition; and they will some time pay dearly for that false tranquillity, in which they have been so long indulged. As healthful bodies are ruined by too nice a regimen, and are thereby rendered incapable of bearing the unavoidable incidents of human life; a people who never were allowed to imagine, that their principles could be contested, fly out into the most outrageous violence when any event (and such events are common) produces a faction among their clergy, and gives rise to any difference in tenet or opinion. But whatever may be said in favour of suppressing, by persecution, the first beginnings of heresy, no solid argument can be alledged for extending severity towards multitudes, or endeavouring, by capital punishments, to extirpate an opinion, which has diffused itself through men of every rank and station. Besides the extreme barbarity of such an attempt, it proves commonly ineffectual to the purpose intended; and serves only to make men more obstinate in their persuasion, and to increase the number of their proselytes. The melancholy, with which the fear of death, torture, and persecution inspires the sectaries, is the proper disposition for fostering religious zeal: The prospect of eternal rewards, when brought near, overpowers the dread of temporary punishment: The glory of martyrdom stimulates all the more furious zealots, especially the leaders and preachers. Where a violent animosity is excited by oppression, men pass naturally, from hating the persons of their tyrants, to a more violent abhorrence of their doctrines: And the spectators, moved with pity towards the supposed martyrs, are naturally seduced to embrace those principles, which can inspire men with a constancy that appears almost

most supernatural. Open the door to toleration, the mutual hatred relaxes among the sectaries: their attachment to their particular religion decays; the common occupations and pleasures of life succeed to the acrimony of disputation; and the same man, who, in other circumstances, would have braved flames and tortures, is engaged to change his religion from the smallest prospect of favour and advancement, or even from the frivolous hopes of becoming more fashionable in his principles. If any exception can be admitted to this maxim of toleration, it will only be where a theology altogether new, nowise connected with the antient religion of the state, is imported from foreign countries, and may easily, at one blow, be eradicated, without leaving the seeds of future innovations. But as this instance would involve some apology for the antient pagan persecutions, or for the extirpation of Christianity in China and Japan; it ought surely, on account of this detested consequence, to be rather buried in eternal silence and oblivion.

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THOUGH these arguments appear entirely satisfactory, yet such is the subtilty of human wit, that Gardiner, and the other enemies to toleration, were not reduced to silence; and they still found topics on which to support the controversy. The doctrine, said they, of liberty of conscience is founded on the most flagrant impiety, and supposes such an indifference among all religions, such an obscurity in theological doctrines, as to render the church and magistrate incapable of distinguishing, with certainty, the dictates of Heaven from the mere fictions of human imagination. If the Divinity reveals principles to mankind, he will surely give a criterion by which they may be ascertained; and a prince, who knowingly allows these principles to be perverted or adulterated, is infinitely more criminal than if he gave permission for the vending of poison, under the shape of bread, to all his subjects. Persecution may, indeed, seem better calculated to make hypocrites than converts; but experience teaches us, that the habits of hypocrisy often turn into reality; and the children at least, ignorant of their parents' dissimulation, may happily be educated in more orthodox tenets. It is absurd, in opposition to considerations of such unspeakable importance, to plead the temporal and frivolous interests of civil society; and if matters be thoroughly examined, even that topic will not appear so certain and universal

CHAP. universal in favour of toleration as by some it is represented. Where sects arise, whose fundamental principle on all sides, is to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate each other; what choice has the magistrate left but to take party, and by rendering one sect entirely prevalent, restore, at least for a time, the public tranquillity? The political body, being here sickly, must not be treated as if it were in a state of sound health; and an affected neutrality in the prince, or even a cool preference, may serve only to encourage the hopes of all the sects, and keep alive their animosity. The protestants, far from tolerating the religion of their ancestors, regard it as an impious and detestable idolatry; and during the late minority, when they were entirely masters, they enacted very severe, though not capital, punishments against all exercise of the catholic worship, and even against such as barely abstained from their prophane rites and sacraments. Nor are instances wanting of their endeavours to secure an imagined orthodoxy by the most rigorous executions: Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva: Cranmer brought Arians and Anabaptists to the stake: And if persecution of any kind is to be admitted, the most bloody and violent will surely be allowed the most justifiable, as the most effectual. Imprisonment, fines, confiscations, whippings, serve only to irritate the sects, without disabling them from resistance: But the stake, the wheel, and the gibbet, must soon terminate in the extirpation or banishment of all the heretics, inclined to give disturbance, and in the entire silence and submission of the rest.

THE arguments of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, were better received; and though Pole pleaded, as is affirmed^A, the advice of the emperor, who recommended it to his daughter-in-law, not to practise violence against the protestants, and desired her to consider his own example, who, after endeavouring through his whole life, to extirpate heresy, had, in the end, reaped nothing but confusion and disappointment, the scheme of toleration was entirely rejected.

^A Burnet, vol. ii. Heylin, p. 47. It is not likely, however, that Charles gave any such advice: For he himself was at this very time proceeding with great violence in persecuting the reformed in Flanders. Bentivoglio, part i. lib. 1.

ed. It was determined to let loose the laws in their full rigour against the reformed religion; and England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove, that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, covered with the mantle of religion.

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THE persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent in his party for virtue as well as for learning. Gardiner's plan was first to attack men of that character, whom, he hoped, terror would bend to submission, and whose example, either of punishment or recantation, would naturally have influence on the multitude: But he found a perseverance and courage in Rogers, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all ages, and all sects, do notwithstanding furnish many examples. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under other very powerful temptations to compliance: He had a wife, whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; yet such was his serenity after his condemnation, that the jailors, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest; he could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield^b.

HOOPER, bishop of Gloucester, had been tried at the same time with Rogers; but was sent to his own diocese to be executed. This circumstance was contrived to strike the greater terror into his flock; but it was a source of consolation to Hooper, who rejoiced, in giving testimony, by his death, to that doctrine, which he had formerly preached among them. When he was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, which it was still in his power to merit by a recantation: But he ordered it to be removed; and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment, to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity: The wind, which was vehement, blew the flames of the reeds from his body: The faggots were green, and did not kindle easily: All his lower parts were consumed, before his vitals were attacked: One of his hands

^b Fox, vol. iii. p. 119. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302.

CHAP. hands dropt off: With the other he continued to beat his
 XXXVII. breast: He was heard to pray and to exhort the people,
 1555. till his tongue, swoln with the virulence of his agony,
 could no longer permit him utterance. He was three
 quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with in-
 flexible constancy^c.

SANDHUS was burned at Coventry. A pardon was also
 offered him; but he rejected it, and embraced the stake,
 saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ; welcome ever-
 "lasting life." Taylor, parson of Hadley, was consumed
 by flames in that place, amidst his antient friends and
 parishioners. When tied to the stake, he repeated a
 psalm in English: One of his guards struck him on the
 mouth, and bid him speak Latin: Another, in a rage,
 gave him a blow on the head with his halbert, which
 happily put an end to his torments.

THERE was one Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester,
 possessed of such zeal for orthodoxy, that having been
 engaged in dispute with an Arian, he spit in his adver-
 sary's face, to shew the great detestation, which he had
 entertained against that heresy. He afterwards wrote a
 treatise to justify this unmannerly expression of zeal; and
 he said, that he was led to it; in order to relieve the sor-
 row conceived from such horrid blasphemy, and to signify
 how unworthy such a miscreant was of being admitted
 into the society of any christian^d. Philpot was a
 protestant; and falling now into the hands of people as
 zealous as himself, but more powerful, he was condemn-
 ed to the flames, and suffered at Smithfield. It seems to
 be almost a general rule; that, in all religions, except the
 true, no man will suffer martyrdom, who would not
 also inflict it willingly on all who differ from him.
 The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of
 both.

THE article, upon which almost all the protestants
 were condemned, was, their refusal to acknowledge the
 real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected, that
 a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers,
 finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the
 invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, a man of
 profligate

^c Fox, vol. iii. p. 145, &c. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 302. Hey-
 lin, p. 48, 49. Godwin. p. 349. ^d Strype, vol. iii. p. 261.
 and Coll. No. 58.

profligate manners, and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers ^E. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: He tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to relinquish his religion; and that he might give him a specimen of burning, he held his hand to the candle, till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst ^F.

It is needless to be particular in enumerating all the horrid cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: The savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all these martyrdoms, that the narration, very little agreeable in itself; would never be relieved by any variety. Human nature appears not, on any occasion, so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious persecutions, which sink men below infernal spirits in wickedness, and below the beasts in folly. A few instances only may be worth preserving, in order, if possible, to warn zealous bigots, for ever, to avoid such odious and such fruitless barbarity.

FERRAR, bishop of St. David's, was burned in his own diocese; and his appeal to cardinal Pole was not attended to ^G. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother, we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The executioners had been so merciful (for that clemency may more naturally be ascribed to them than to the religious zealots) as to tie bags of gunpowder about these prelates, in order to put a speedy period to their tortures: The explosion immediately killed Latimer, who was in an extreme old age; Ridley continued alive during some time in the midst of the flames ^H.

ONE Hunter, a young man of nineteen, an apprentice, having been seduced by a priest into a dispute, had unwarily denied the real presence. Sensible of his danger,

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A a

ger,

^E Heylin, p. 47, 48.

^F Fox, vol. iii. p. 187.

^G Ibid.

^H Burnet, vol. ii. p. 318. Heylin, p. 52.

CHAP. ger, he immediately absconded: and Bonner, laying hold
XXXVII. of his father, threatened him with the greatest severities,
if he did not produce the young man to stand his trial.

1555. Hunter, hearing the vexations to which his father was
exposed, voluntarily surrendered himself to Bonner, and
was condemned to the flames by that barbarous prelate.

THOMAS HAWKES, when conducted to the stake, agreed with his friends, that, if he found the torture tolerable, he would make them a signal to that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause, in which he suffered, so supported him, that he stretched out his arms, the signal agreed on; and in that posture he expired¹. This example, with many others of like constancy, encouraged multitudes, not only to suffer, but even to court and aspire to martyrdom.

THE tender sex itself, as they have commonly greater propensity to religion, produced many instances of the most inflexible courage, in supporting the profession of it, against all the fury of the persecutors. One execution in particular was attended with circumstances, which, even at that time, excited astonishment, by reason of their unusual barbarity. A woman in Guernsey, being near the time of her labour when brought to the stake, was thrown into such agitation by the torture, that her belly burst, and she was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately snatched the infant from the fire, and attempted to save it: But a magistrate who stood by, ordered it to be thrown back; being determined, he said, that nothing should survive which sprung from such an obstinate and heretical parent².

THE persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching, or dogmatizing, contrary to the established religion: They were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames³. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked

¹ Fox, vol. iii. p. 265.
Burnet, vol. ii. p. 337.

² Ibid. p. 747. Heylin, p. 57.
³ Ibid. p. 306.

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ed to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians, for crimes subversive of civil society: To exterminate the whole protestant party, was known to be impossible; and nothing could appear more iniquitous, than to subject to torture the most conscientious and courageous among them, and allow the cowards and hypocrites to escape. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery: and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors. Repeated orders were sent from the council, to quicken the diligence of the magistrates in searching after heretics; and, in some places, the gentry were constrained to countenance, by their presence, those barbarous executions. These violences tended only to render the Spanish government daily more odious; and Philip, sensible of the hatred which he incurred, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice: He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; a doctrine somewhat extraordinary in the mouth of a Spanish friar^M. But the court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without controul. A bold step was even taken towards introducing the inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate hereby. Twenty-one persons were named; but any three were armed with the powers of the whole. The commission runs in these terms; "That
 " since many false rumours were published among the
 " subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread
 " among them, therefore they were to enquire into those,
 " either by presentments by witnesses, or any other po-
 " litical way they could devise, and to search after all
 " heresies; the bringers in, the sellers, the readers of
 " all heretical books: They were to examine and punish

A a 2

" all

* Heylin, p. 56.

CH 4 P. " all misbehaviours or negligences in any church or chapel; and to try all priests that did not preach the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear
 XXXVII. " mass, or come to their parish church to service, that
 1555. " would not go in processions, or did not take holy bread or holy water: And if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the spiritual laws: Giving the commissioners full power to proceed, as their discretions and consciences should direct them, and to use all such means as they would invent for the searching of the premises; empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after^N." Some civil powers were also given the commissioners to punish vagabonds and quarrelsome persons.

To bring the methods of proceeding in England still nearer the practice of the inquisition, letters were written to the lord North, and others, enjoining them, " To put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and there to order them at their discretion^O." Secret spies also, and informers, were employed, according to the practice of that iniquitous tribunal. Instructions were given to the justices of peace, " That they should call secretly before them one or two honest persons within their limits, or more, at their discretion, and command them by oath, or otherwise, that they shall secretly learn and search out such persons as shall evil-behave themselves in church, or idly, or shall despise openly, by words, the king's or queen's proceedings, or go about to make any commotion, or tell any seditious tales or news. And also, that the same persons so to be appointed, shall declare to the same justices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd disordered persons, whether it shall be for using unlawful games, and such other light behaviour of such suspected persons: And that the same information shall be given secretly to the justices; and the same justices shall call such accused persons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accused. And
 " that

^N Burnet, vol. ii. Coll. 32. ^O Ib. vol. iii. p. 243.

“ that the same justices shall, upon their examination, punish the offenders, according as their offences shall appear, upon the accusation and examination, by their discretion, either by open punishment or by good abearing ^P.” In some respects, this tyrannical edict even exceeded the oppression of the inquisition; by introducing into every part of government, the same iniquities, which that tribunal practises only for the extirpation of heresy, and which are, in some measure, necessary, wherever that end is earnestly pursued.

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BUT the court had devised a more expeditious and summary method of suppressing heresy than even the inquisition itself. They issued a proclamation against books of heresy, treason, and sedition; and declared, “ That whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay, be executed by martial law ♣.” From the state of the English government, during that period, it is not so much the illegality of these proceedings, as their violence and their pernicious tendency, which ought to be the object of our censure.

WE have thrown together almost all the transactions against heretics, though carried on during a course of three years; that we may be obliged, as little as possible, to return to such shocking violences and barbarities. It is computed, that in that time two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing; yet is it much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author ^R computes, that in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles the fifth was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt, on account of religion; and that in France the number had also been considerable. Yet in both countries,

^P Burnet, vol. iii. p. 246, 247. ♣ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 363. Heylin, p. 79. ^R Father Paul, lib. 5.

CHAP. tries, as the same author subjoins, the progress of the new XXXVII. opinions, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

1555. THE burning of heretics was a very natural method of reconciling the kingdom to the Romish communion; and little solicitation was requisite to engage the pope to receive the strayed flock, from which he reaped such profit: Yet was there a solemn embassy sent to Rome, consisting of Sir Anthony Brown, created viscount Montacute, the bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne; in order to carry the submissions of England, and beg to be readmitted into the bosom of the catholic church^R. Paul the fourth, after a short interval, now filled the papal chair; the most haughty pontiff, that, during several ages, had been elevated to that dignity. He was offended, that Mary still retained among her titles, that of queen of Ireland; and he affirmed, that it belonged to him alone, as he saw proper, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: But to avoid all dispute with the new converts, he thought proper to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and then admitted the title, as if it had been assumed from his own concession. This was an usual artifice of the pope's, to give allowance to what they could not prevent^S, and afterwards pretend, that persons, while they exercised their own power, were only acting by authority from the papacy. And though Paul had at first intended to oblige Mary formally to recede from this title, before he would bestow it upon her; he found it wiser to proceed in a less haughty manner^T.

THE other point of discussion between the pope and the English ambassadors was not so easily terminated. Paul insisted, that the property and possessions of the church should be restored even to the uttermost farthing: That whatever belonged to God, could never by any law be converted to profane uses, and every person who detained such possessions was in a state of eternal damnation; That he would willingly, in consideration of the humble submissions of England, make them a present of these ecclesiastical revenues; but such a concession exceeded his power, and the people might be certain that so great a profanation of holy things would be a perpetual anathema upon

^R Heylin, p. 45.

^S Heylin, p. 45. Father Paul, lib 5.

^T Father Paul, lib. 5.

upon them, and would blast all their future felicity: CHAP. XXXVII.
 That if they would truly shew their filial piety, they must restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church, and Peter's pence among the rest; nor could they expect, that this apostle would open to them the gates of paradise, while they detained from him his possessions on earth ^U. These earnest remonstrances, being transmitted to England, though they had little influence on the nation, operated powerfully on the queen; who was determined, in order to ease her conscience, to restore all the church lands which were still in the possession of the crown; and the more to express her zeal, she erected anew some convents and monasteries, notwithstanding the low condition of the exchequer ^T. When this measure was debated in council, some members objected, that if such a considerable part of the revenue was dismembered, the dignity of the crown would fall to decay; But the queen replied, that she preferred the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England ^V. These imprudent measures would not probably have taken place so easily, had it not been for the death of Gardiner, which happened about this time: The great seal was given to Heath, archbishop of York; that an ecclesiastic might still be possessed of that high office, and be better enabled by his authority to forward the persecutions against the reformed.

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THESE persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation; and the effects of the public discontent appeared in the new parliament, summoned to meet at Westminster ^V. A bill ^Z was passed, restoring to the church the tenths and first fruits, and all the impropriations which remained in the hands of the crown; but though this matter directly concerned none but the queen herself, great opposition was made to the bill in the house of commons. An application being made for a subsidy during two years, and for two fifteenths, the latter was refused by the commons; and many members said, that, while the crown was thus despoiling itself of its revenues, it was in vain to bestow riches upon it. The parliament rejected

21st Oct. A parliament.

^U Father Paul, lib. 5. Heylin, p. 45. ^W Depeches de Noailles, vol. iv. p. 312. ^X Heylin, p. 53, 65. Holingshed, p. 1127. Speed, p. 826. ^Y Burnet, vol. ii. p. 322.
^Z 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 4.

CHAP. rejected a bill for obliging the exiles to return under certain penalties, and another for incapacitating such as were remiss in the prosecution of heresy from being justices of peace. The queen finding the intractable humour of the commons, thought proper to dissolve the parliament.

1555.
9th Dec.

THE spirit of opposition, which began to prevail in parliament, was the more likely to be vexatious to Mary, as she was otherwise in very bad humour, on account of her husband's absence, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over last summer to the emperor in Flanders. The indifference and neglect of Philip, added to the disappointment of her imagined pregnancy, threw her into deep melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen by enforcing daily the persecutions against the protestants, and even by expressions of rage against all her subjects; by whom she knew herself to be hated, and whose opposition, in refusing an entire compliance with Philip, was the cause, she believed, why he had alienated his affections from her, and afforded her so little of his company^A. The less return her love met with, the more it increased; and she passed most of her time in solitude, where she gave vent to her passions either in tears, or in writing fond epistles to Philip, who seldom returned her any answer, and scarce deigned to counterfeit any sentiment of love or even gratitude towards her. The chief part of government, to which she attended, was the extorting money from her people, in order to satisfy his demands; and as the parliament had granted her but a small supply, she had recourse to expedients the most violent and most irregular. She levied a loan of 60,000 pounds upon a thousand persons, of whose compliance, either on account of their riches or their affections to her, she held herself best assured; But that sum not sufficing, she exacted a general loan on every one who possessed twenty pounds a year. This imposition lay heavy on the gentry, who were obliged, many of them, to retrench their expences, and dismiss their servants, in order to enable them to comply with her demands: And as these servants, accustomed to idleness,

*The
queen's
extortions.*

^A Depeches de Noailles, vol. v. p. 562, 370.

idleness, and having no means of subsistence, betook themselves very commonly to theft and robbery, the queen published a proclamation, by which she obliged their former masters to take them back to their service. She levied 60,000 marks from 7000 yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loan; and she exacted 36,000 pounds more from the merchants. In order to engage some Londoners to comply the more willingly with her multiplied extortions, she passed an edict, prohibiting, for four months, the exporting any English cloths or kerseys for Flanders; an expedient which procured a good market for such as had already sent any quantity of cloth thither. Her rapaciousness engaged her to give endless disturbance and interruption to commerce. The English company settled in Antwerp having refused her a loan of 40,000 pounds, she dissembled her resentment, till she found, that they had bought and shipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, which was approaching: She then laid an embargo on the ships, and obliged the merchants to grant her a loan of the 40,000 pounds at first demanded, to engage for the payment of 20,000 pounds more at a limited time, and to submit to an arbitrary imposition of twenty shillings on each piece. Some time after, she was informed, that the Italian merchants had shipped above 40,000 pieces of cloth for the Levant, for which they were to pay a crown a piece, the usual imposition: She struck a bargain with the merchant adventurers in London; prohibited entirely the foreigners to make any exportation; and received from the English merchants, in consideration of this iniquity, the sum of 50,000 pounds, and an imposition of four crowns on each piece of cloth which they should export. She attempted to borrow great sums abroad; but her credit ran so low, that, though she offered 14 per cent. to the city of Antwerp for a loan of 30,000 pounds, she could not obtain it, till she constrained the city of London to be surety for her^B. All these violent expedients were employed while she herself was in profound peace with all the world, and had visibly no other occasion for money but to supply the demands of a husband, who gave attention only to his own

^B Godwin, p. 359. Cowper's Chronicle. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 359. Carte, p. 330. 333. 337. 341. Strype's Memor. vol. iii. p. 428, 558. Annals, vol. i. p. 15.

C H A P. own convenience, and shewed himself intirely indifferent
XXXVII. about her interests.

1555. *The emperor re-signs his crown.* PHILIP was now become master of all the wealth of the Indies, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary resignation of the emperor, Charles the fifth; who, though still in the vigour of his age, had taken a disgust to the world, and was determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retreat, for that happiness, which he had in vain pursued, amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. He summoned the states of the Low Countries; and seating himself on the throne for the last time, explained to his subjects the reasons for his resignation, absolved them from all oaths of allegiance, and devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burthen which he imposed upon him^c. He inculcated on him the great and only duty of a prince, the study of his people's happiness; and represented how much preferable it was to govern, by affection rather than fear, the nations subjected to his dominion. The cool reflections of age now discovered to him the emptiness of his former pursuits; and he found, that the vain schemes of extending his empire had been the source of endless opposition and disappointment, had kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, and had frustrated the sole end of government, the felicity of nations committed to his care; an object which meets with less opposition, and which, if steadily pursued, can alone convey a lasting and solid satisfaction.

1556. A FEW months after, he resigned to Philip his other dominions; and embarking on board a fleet, sailed to Spain, and took his journey to St. Just, a monastery in Estremadura, which, being situated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for the place of his retreat. When he arrived at Burgos, he found, by the thinness of his court, and the negligent attendance of the Spanish grandees, that he was no longer emperor; and though this observation might convince him still more of the vanity of the world, and make him more heartily despise what he had renounced, he sighed to find that all former adulation and obeisance had been paid to his fortune, not to his person. With better reason,

^c Thuan. lib. xvi. c. 29.

son, was he struck with the ingratitude of his son Philip, CH A P. who allowed him to wait a long time for the payment XXXVII. of the small pension which he had reserved; and this dis- appointment in his domestic enjoyments gave him a very 1556. sensible concern. He pursued, however, his resolution with inflexible constancy; and shutting himself up in his retreat, he exerted such self-command, that he restrained even his curiosity from any enquiry concerning the transactions of the world, which he had entirely abandoned. The fencing against the pains and infirmities, under which he laboured, occupied a great part of his time; and during the intervals, he employed his leisure either in examining the controversies of theology, with which his age had been so much agitated, and which he had hitherto only considered in a political light, or in imitating the works of renowned artists, particularly in mechanics, of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. He is said to have discovered a propensity to the new doctrines; and to have frequently dropped hints of this unexpected alteration in his sentiments. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked how impracticable the object was, in which he had so much employed himself during his grandeur; and how impossible, that he, who never could frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion. He survived his retreat two years.

THE emperor Charles had very early, in the beginning of his reign, found the difficulty of governing such distant dominions; and he had made his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans; with a view of his succeeding to the imperial dignity, as well as to his German dominions. But having afterwards enlarged his views, and formed plans of aggrandizing his family, he regretted, that he must dismember such considerable states; and he endeavoured to engage Ferdinand, by the most tempting offers, and most earnest solicitations, to yield up his pretensions in favour of Philip. Finding his attempts fruitless, he had resigned the imperial crown with his other dignities; and Ferdinand, according to common form, applied to the pope for his coronation. The arrogant pontiff refused the demand; and pretended, that, though, on the death of an emperor, he was
obl

CHAP. obliged to crown the prince elected, yet in the case of a
 XXXVII. resignation, the right devolved to the holy see, and it be-
 1556 longed to the pope alone to appoint an emperor. The
 conduct of Paul was in every thing conformable to these
 lofty pretensions. He thundered always in the ears of all
 ambassadors, that he stood in no need of the assistance of
 any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth;
 that he would not accustom monarchs to pretend to a fa-
 miliarity or equality with him; that it belonged to him to
 alter and regulate kingdoms; that he was successor of
 those who had deposed kings and emperors; and that, ra-
 ther than submit to any thing below his dignity, he would
 set fire to the four corners of the world. He went so
 far, as at table, in the presence of many persons, and
 even openly, in a public consistory, to say, that he would
 not admit any kings for his companions; they were all his
 subjects, and he would hold them under these feet: So
 saying, he stamped on the ground with his old and in-
 firm limbs: For he was now past fourscore years of
 age.^D

THE world could not forbear making a comparison be-
 tween Charles the fifth, a prince, who, though educated
 amidst wars and intrigues of state, had prevented the de-
 cline of age, and had descended from the throne, in or-
 der to set apart an interval for thought and reflection, and
 a priest, who, in the extremity of old age, exulted in his
 dominion, and, from restless ambition and revenge, was
 throwing all nations into combustion. Paul had enter-
 tained the most inveterate animosity against the house of
 Austria; and though a truce of five years had been con-
 cluded between France and Spain, he excited Henry by
 his solicitations to break it, and promised to assist him in
 recovering Naples and the dominions, to which he laid
 claim in Italy; a project which had ever proved fatal to
 the predecessors of that monarch. He himself engaged
 in hostilities with the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples;
 and the duke of Guise being sent with forces to support
 him, the renewal of war between the two crowns seemed
 almost inevitable. Philip, though less warlike than his
 father, was no less ambitious; and he trusted, that, by
 the intrigues of the cabinet, where, he believed, his
 caution and secrecy and prudence gave him the superiori-
 ty, he should be able to subdue all his enemies, and ex-
 tend

^D Father Paul, lib. v.

tend his authority and dominion. For this reason, as CHAP. well as from the desire of settling his new empire, he XXXVII. was desirous to maintain peace with France; but when he found, that, without sacrificing his honour, it was impossible for him to overlook the hostile attempts of Henry, he prepared for war with great industry. In order to give himself the more advantage, he was desirous to embark England in the quarrel; and though the queen was of herself extremely averse to that design, he hoped, that the devoted fondness, which notwithstanding repeated instances of his indifference, she still bore him, would effectually second his applications. Had the matter indeed depended solely on her, she was incapable of resisting her husband's commands; but she had little weight with her council, still less with her people; and her government, which was every day becoming more odious, seemed unable to support itself even during the most profound tranquillity, much more if a war was kindled with France, and what seemed an inevitable consequence, with Scotland, supported by that powerful kingdom.

AN act of barbarity was this year exercised in Eng- *Execution* land, which, added to many other instances of the same of Cran- kind, tended to render the government extremely un- *mer.* popular. Cranmer had long been detained prisoner; but the queen now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him; and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation which suited his savage nature^E. The revenge of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence, to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattery, insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which

^E Mem. of Cranm. p. 375.

CHAP. which his character still entitled him, if he would merit
 XXXVII. them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying
 those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition
 had attached to him during the course of his prosperity ^F.

1556.

21st. Mar.

Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution; and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders, that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the people, and that he should thence be immediately led to execution.

Cranmer, whether, that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed to his sovereign and the laws; but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear without resistance whatever hardships they should impose upon him: That a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine, which the supreme Being had revealed to mankind: That there was but one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented; the insincere declaration of faith; to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him: That he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven: And that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offences. He was thence led to the stake amidst the insults of the catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness or even of feeling, he held it in the flames, till it was entirely

^F Heylin, p. 55. Mem. p. 383.

entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, *This hand has offended*. Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched amidst the ashes; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, sincerity and beneficence, and all those virtues, which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party ^G.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

1556.

AFTER Cranmer's death, cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury; and was thus, by this office, as well as his commission of legate, placed at the head of the church of England. But though he was averse to all sanguinary methods of converting heretics, and esteemed the reformation of the clergy the more effectual, as the more laudable expedient for that purpose ^H; he found his authority too weak to oppose the barbarous and bigotted disposition of the queen and of her counsellors. He himself, he knew, had been suspected of Lutheranism; and as Paul, the reigning pope, was a furious persecutor and his personal enemy, he was prompted, by the modesty of his disposition, to reserve his credit for other occasions, in which he had a greater probability of success ^I.

THE great object of the queen was to engage the nation in the war, which was kindled between France and Spain; and cardinal Pole, with many other counsellors, very openly and zealously opposed this measure. Besides insisting on the marriage articles, which provided against such

1557.

^G Burnet, vol. ii. p. 331, 332, &c. Godwin, p. 352. ^H Burnet, vol. ii. p. 324, 325. ^I Heylin, p. 68, 69. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.

CHAPTER such an attempt, they represented the violence of the domestic factions in England, and the disordered state of the finances; and they foreboded, that the tendency of

1557. all these measures was to reduce the kingdom to a total dependance on Spanish counsels. Philip had come to London in order to support his partizans; and he told the queen, that if he was not gratified in so reasonable a request, he never more would set foot in England. This declaration heightened extremely her zeal for promoting his interests, and overcoming the inflexibility of her council. After employing other menaces of a more violent nature, she threatened to dismiss all of them from the board, and to appoint counsellors more obsequious; yet could she not procure a vote for declaring war with France. At last, one Stafford and some other conspirators were detected in a design of surprizing Scarborough^x; and a confession being extorted from them, that they had been encouraged by Henry in the attempt, the queen's importunities prevailed; and it was determined to make this act of hostility, with others of a like secret and doubtful nature, the ground of the quarrel. War was accordingly declared against France; and preparations were made for attacking that kingdom.

War with France.

THE revenues of England at that time little exceeded 300,000 pounds^L. Any considerable supplies could scarce be expected from parliament, considering the present disposition of the nation; and as war would sensibly diminish the branch of the customs, the finances, it was foreseen, would fall short even of the ordinary charges of government; much more, prove unequal to the expences of war. But though the queen owed great arrears to all her servants, besides loans extorted from her subjects; these considerations had no influence on her, in order to support her warlike preparations, she continued to levy money in the same arbitrary and violent manner, which she had formerly practised. She obliged the city of London to supply her with 60,000 pounds, on her husband's entry; she levied before the legal time the second year's subsidy voted by parliament; she issued anew many privy seals, by which she procured loans from her people; and having equipped a fleet, which she could not victual by reason

^x Heylin, p. 72. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 351. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs.

^L Rosso, Successi d'Inghilterra.

reason of the dearth of provisions, she seized all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk, without paying any price to the owners. By all these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of ten thousand men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke. Meanwhile, in order to prevent any disturbance at home, many of the most considerable gentry were thrown into the tower; and lest they should be known, the Spanish practice was followed: They were either carried thither in the night-time or were hoodwinked and muffled by the guards who conducted them ^M.

THE king of Spain had assembled an army, which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above sixty thousand strong, commanded by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. The constable, Montmorency, who commanded the French army, had not half the number to oppose him. The duke of Savoy, after menacing Mariembourg and Rocroy, sat down suddenly before St. Quintin; and as the place was weak, and ill provided of a garrison, he expected in a few days to become master of it. But the admiral Coligny, governor of the province, thinking his honour interested to save so important a fortress, threw himself into St. Quintin, with some troops of French and Scots gensdarmes; and by his exhortation and example animated the soldiers to a vigorous defence. He dispatched a messenger to his uncle, the constable, desiring a supply of men; and that general approached the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entry of the succours. But the duke of Savoy falling on the reinforcement, did such execution upon them, that not above five hundred men got into the place. He next made an attack on the French army, and put them to a total rout, killing four thousand men, and dispersing the rest. In this unfortunate action many of the chief nobility of France were either slain or taken prisoners: Among the latter was the old constable himself, who fighting valiantly, and resolute to die rather than survive his defeat, was surrounded by the enemy, and thus fell alive into their hands. The whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation: Paris was attempted to be fortified in a hurry:

VOL. IV.

B b

a hurry:

^M Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iii. p. 377.

CHAP. a hurry: And had the Spaniards presently marched this-
 XXXVII. ther, it could not fail to have fallen into their hands. But
 1557. Philip was of a cautious temper; and he determined first

to take St. Quintin, in order to secure a communication with his own dominions. A very little time, it was expected, would finish this enterprize; but the bravery of Coligny still prolonged the siege seventeen days, which proved the safety of France. Some troops were levied and assembled. Couriers were sent to recal the duke of Guise and his army from Italy: And the French having recovered from their first panic, put themselves in a posture of defence. Philip, after taking Ham and Castelet, found the season so far advanced, that he could attempt no farther enterprize, and he broke up his camp, and retired to winter quarters.

*Calais
 taken by
 the French.*

BUT the vigilant activity of Guise, not satisfied with securing the frontiers, prompted him, in the depth of winter, to attempt an enterprize, which France, during her greatest successes, had always regarded as impossible, and had never thought of undertaking. Calais was, in that age, deemed an impregnable fortress; and as it was known to be the favourite of the English nation, by whom it could easily be succoured, the recovery of that place by France was considered as totally desperate. But Coligny had remarked, that, as the town of Calais was surrounded with marshes, which during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam bridge, the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. On this circumstance he had founded his design of making a sudden attack on the place; he had caused it to be secretly surveyed by some engineers; and a plan of the whole enterprize being found among his papers, it served, though he himself was made prisoner on the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the project of that undertaking, and to direct the conduct of the duke of Guise.

1758.

SEVERAL bodies of troops defiled towards the frontiers on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly assembled, formed an army, with which the duke of Guise made an unexpected march towards Calais. At the same time a great number of French ships, being ordered into the

the channel, under colour of cruising on the English, composed a fleet which made an attack by sea on the fortifications. The French assaulted St. Agatha with three thousand harquebusiers; and though the garrison made a vigorous defence, they were soon obliged to abandon the place, and retreat towards Newnam bridge. The siege of this latter place was immediately undertaken, and at the same time the fleet battered the risbank, which guarded the entry of the harbour; and both these castles seemed exposed to imminent danger. The governor, lord Wentworth, was a brave officer; but finding that the greater part of his weak garrison was enclosed in Newnam or the risbank, he ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which without their assistance he was utterly unable to defend. The garrison of Newnam bridge were so happy as to effectuate this purpose; but that of the risbank could not obtain such favourable conditions, and were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
1558.

THE duke of Guise, now holding the place blockaded by sea and land, thought himself secure of succeeding in his enterprize; but in order to prevent all accidents, he delayed not a moment the attack of the place. He planted his batteries against the castle, where he made a large breach; and having ordered Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fossée, he commanded an assault, which succeeded; and the French made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover his post; but having lost two hundred men in a furious attack which he made upon it^F, he found his garrison so weak, that he was obliged to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes fell soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward the third a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had, that very campaign, been victorious in the battle of Cressy. The English had held it above two hundred years; and as it gave them, whenever they pleased, an entry into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. The joy of the French was extreme, as well as the glory acquired by the duke of Guise, who, at the time when

B b 2

all

^F Thuan. lib. xx. cap. 2.

CHAP. all Europe imagined France to be sunk by the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, had, in opposition to the English, and their allies the Spaniards, acquired possession of a place, which no former king of France, even during the distractions of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, had ever ventured to attempt. The English, on the other hand, bereaved of this valuable fortress, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. A treasury exhausted by expences, and burthened with debts; a people divided and dejected; a sovereign negligent of her people's welfare; were circumstances which, notwithstanding the fair offers and promises of Philip, gave them small hopes of recovering Calais. And as the Scots, instigated by French councils, began to move on the borders, they were now necessitated rather to look to their defence at home, than to think of foreign conquests.

*Affairs of
Scotland.*

AFTER the peace, which, in consequence of king Edward's treaty with Henry, took place between Scotland and England, the queen-dowager, on pretence of visiting her daughter and her relations, made a journey to France, and she carried along with her the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Marischal, and many of the principal nobility. Her secret design was to take measures for engaging the earl of Arran to resign to her the government of the kingdom; and as her brothers the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the duke d'Aumale, had uncontrouled influence in the court of France, she easily persuaded Henry, and, by his authority, the Scots nobles, to enter into her measures. Having also gained over Carnegy of Kinnaird, Panter bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, three creatures of the governor's, she persuaded him by their means, to consent to this resignation^g; and when every thing was thus prepared for her purpose, she took a journey to Scotland, and passed through England in her way thither. Edward received her with great respect and civility; though he could not forbear attempting to renew the old treaty for his marriage with her daughter: A marriage, he said, so happily calculated for the tranquillity,

• Buchanan, lib. xiv. Keith, p. 56. Spotswood, p. 92.

quillity, interest, and security of both kingdoms, and the only means of ensuring a durable peace between them. CH A P. XXXVII. For his part, he added, he never could entertain a cordial amity for any other husband whom she should choose; nor was it easy for him to forgive a man, who, at the same time that he disappointed so natural an alliance, had bereaved him of a bride, to whom his affections, from his earliest infancy, had been entirely engaged. The queen eluded these applications, by telling him, that, if any measures had been taken disagreeable to him, they were entirely owing to the imprudence of the duke of Somerset, who, instead of employing courtesy, caresses, and gentle offices, the proper means of gaining a young princess, had had recourse to arms and violence, and had constrained the Scots nobility to send their sovereign into France, in order to interest that kingdom in protecting their liberty and independence ^H.

WHEN the queen-dowager arrived in Scotland, she found the governor very unwilling to fulfil his engagements; and it was not till after many delays that he could be persuaded to resign his authority. But finding that the majority of the young princess was approaching, and that the queen-dowager had gained the affections of all the principal nobility, he thought it more prudent to submit; and having stipulated, that he should be declared next heir to the crown, and should be freed from giving any account of his past administration, he placed her in possession of the power; and she thenceforth assumed the name of regent ^I. It was an usual saying of this princess, that, provided she could render her friends happy, and could ensure to herself a good reputation, she was entirely indifferent what befel her; and though this sentiment is greatly censured by the zealous reformers ^K, as being founded wholly on secular motives, it discovers a mind well calculated for the government of kingdoms. D'Oisel, a Frenchman, celebrated for capacity, had attended her as ambassador from Henry, but in reality to assist her with his counsels in so delicate an undertaking as the administration of Scotland; and this man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax on the kingdom, in order to support a standing military force, which might at once repulse the inroads of foreign enemies, and check the turbulence of

^H Keith, p. 59.

^I 12th April, 1554.

^K Knox, p. 89.

CHAP. of the Scots nobility. But though some of the courtiers
XXXVII. were gained over to this project, it gave great and general discontent to the nation; and the queen-regent, after
 1558. ingenuously confessing, that it would prove pernicious to the kingdom, had the prudence to desist from it, and to trust entirely for her security to the good-will and affections of her subjects ^L.

THIS laudable purpose seemed to be the chief object of her administration; yet was she sometimes drawn from it by her connections with France, and by the influence which her brothers had acquired over her. When Mary declared war against that kingdom, Henry required the queen-regent to take part in the quarrel; and she summoned a convention of states at Newbottle, and requested them to concur in a declaration of war against England. The Scots nobles, who were as jealous of French as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the queen was obliged to have recourse to artifice, in order to effectuate her purpose. She ordered d'Oysel to begin some fortifications at Eymouth, a place which had been dismantled by the last treaty with Edward; and when the garrison of Berwic, as she foresaw, made an inroad to prevent the undertaking, she effectually employed this pretence to inflame the Scots nation, and to engage them in hostilities against England ^M. The enterprize, however, of the Scots proceeded no farther than some inroads on the borders; and when d'Oysel, of himself, conducted artillery and troops to besiege the castle of Werke, he was recalled, and very sharply rebuked by the council ^N.

*Marriage
of the
dauphin
and the
queen of
Scots.*

IN order to connect Scotland more closely with France, and increase the influence of the latter kingdom, it was thought proper by Henry to complete the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and a deputation was sent by the Scots parliament, to assist at this ceremony, and to settle the terms of the contract. This deputation consisted of the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Ross and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes, and Cassilis, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, natural brother to the queen, and Erskine of Dun. The principal conditions, recommended

^L Keith, p. 70. Buchanan, lib. xvi.
 lib. xix. c. 7. ^N Knox, p. 93.

^M Ibid. Thuan.

ed to these commissioners, were to obtain a solemn engagement from the queen and dauphin, that they would preserve the laws and privileges of Scotland, and to procure a renewal of the French king's promise, to support, in case of the queen's death, the succession of the earl of Arran, now created duke of Chatelraut. Both these conditions were easily obtained; but the court of France took a very perfidious step, directly contrary to this stipulation: They secretly engaged the young queen to sign three papers; by one of which she made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the king of France, in case of her decease without children; by another, she mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or such greater sum as he should have expended for her maintenance and support; and by a third she declared, that whatever deed she had been obliged to perform, relative to the succession of the crown, should be entirely invalid, and that her real sense and intention was contained in the first paper. The marriage was solemnized at Paris: The commissioners, in the name of the states of Scotland, swore allegiance to the queen, and, during the continuance of the marriage, to the king-dauphin, so he was called: And every thing seemed to proceed with great unanimity and concord. But the commissioners being required to deliver up the crown, and other ensigns of royalty, made answer, that they received no authority for that purpose; and they soon after set out on their journey for Scotland. It is remarkable, that, before they embarked, four of the nine commissioners died, within a few days of each other; and a violent, though absurd suspicion prevailed, that they had been poisoned by orders from the family of Guise, on account of this refusal^o. It was not considered, that the accident, however rare, might have happened by the course of nature; and the present season, though not attended with any pestilential disorder, was, to a remarkable degree, unhealthy all over Europe.

THE close alliance between France and Scotland threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary; and it was foreseen, that, though the factions and disorders, which might naturally be expected in the Scots government during the absence of their sovereign, would make its power less formidable, that kingdom would at least

^o Buchanan, lib. xvi. Keith, p. 75. Spotswood, p. 95.

CHAP. least afford the French a means of invading England.

XXXVII: The queen, therefore, found it necessary to summon a parliament, and to demand of them some supplies to her exhausted exchequer. As such an emergency usually gives great advantage to the people, and as the parliaments, during this reign, had shewn, that, where the liberty and independency of the kingdom were menaced with imminent danger, they were not entirely overawed by the court; we shall naturally expect, that the late arbitrary methods of extorting money should, at least, be censured, and, perhaps, some remedy be for the future provided against them. But such an exorbitant prerogative was at this time acknowledged to belong to the crown, that, though men might complain of its present abuses, all attempts to retrench it would have been regarded as the most criminal enterprize; and as that prerogative involved a large discretionary power, any parliamentary enquiry into its exercise would have passed for intolent and presumptuous. The commons, therefore, without making any reflections on the past, voted, besides a fifteenth, a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods. The clergy granted eight shillings in the pound, payable in four years by equal portions.

1558.
20th Jan.
A parliament.

THE parliament also passed an act, confirming all the sales and grants of crown lands, which were either made already by the queen, or should be made during the seven ensuing years. It was easy to foresee, that in the queen's present disposition and situation, this power would be followed by a great alienation of the royal demesnes; and nothing could be more contrary to the principles of good government, than a prince armed with very extensive authority, and yet reduced to beggary. This act met with opposition in the house of commons. One Copely expressed his fears lest the queen, under colour of the power there granted, might alter the succession, and alienate the crown from the lawful heir: But his words were thought *irreverent* to her majesty: He was committed to the custody of a serjeant at arms; and though he expressed sorrow for his offence, he was not released, till the queen was applied to for his pardon.

THE English nation, during this whole reign, were in great apprehensions, with regard not only to the succession, but the life, of the lady Elizabeth. The violent hatred which

which the queen bore her, broke out on every occasion; CHAP. and it required all the authority of Philip, as well as her XXXVII. own great prudence, to prevent the fatal effects of it. The princess retired into the country; and knowing that she was surrounded with spies, she passed her time wholly in reading and study, intermeddled in no business, and saw but very little company. While she remained in this situation, which was for the present very melancholly, but which prepared her mind for those great actions, by which her life was afterwards so much distinguished, proposals of marriage were made her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name. As her first question was, whether the queen had been informed of these proposals? the ambassador told her, that his master thought, as he was a gentleman, it was his duty first to make his addresses to herself; and having obtained her consent, he would next, as a king, apply to her sister. But the princess would allow him to proceed no further; and the queen, after thanking her for this instance of duty, desired to know how she stood affected to the Swedish proposals. Elizabeth, though exposed to many present dangers and mortifications, had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune; and she covered her refusal with professions of a passionate attachment to a single life, which, she said, she infinitely preferred before any other^r. The princess shewed like prudence in concealing her sentiments of religion, in complying with the present modes of worship, and in eluding all questions with regard to that delicate subject^Q.

THE

^r Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. N^o 37.

^Q The common net at that time, says Sir Richard Baker, for catching of protestants, was the real presence; and this net was used to catch the lady Elizabeth: For being asked one time what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body*, whether she thought it the true body of Christ that was in the sacrament? it is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

Christ was the word that speak it;

He took the bread and brake it;

And what the word did make it,

That I believe and take it.

Which, though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least it served her turn at that time, to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. Baker's Chronicle, p. 320.

CHAP.
XXXVII.

1558.

THE money, granted by parliament, enabled the queen to fit out a fleet of a hundred and forty sail, which, being joined by thirty Flemish ships, and carrying six thousand land forces on board, was sent to make an attempt on the coast of Brittany. The fleet was commanded by lord Clinton; the land forces by the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland. But the equipment of the fleet and army was so dilatory, that the French got intelligence of the design, and were prepared to receive them. The English found Breſt too well guarded to make an attempt on that place; but landing at Conquet, they plundered and burnt the town with some adjoining villages, and were proceeding to commit greater disorders, when Kirsimon, a Breton gentleman, at the head of some militia, fell upon them, put them to the rout, and drove them to their ships with considerable loss. But a small squadron of ten English ships had an opportunity of amply revenging this disgrace upon the French. The Marechal de Thermes, governor of Calais, had made an irruption into Flanders, with an army of fourteen thousand men; and having forced a passage over the river Aa, had taken Dunkirk, and Berg St. Winoc, and had advanced as far as Newport. But count Egmont coming suddenly upon him, with superior forces, he was obliged to retire; and being overtaken by the Spaniards near Gravelines, and finding a battle inevitable, he chose very skilfully his ground for the engagement. He fortified his left wing with all the precautions possible; and posted his right along the river Aa, which he reasonably thought, gave him a full security from that quarter. But the English ships, which were accidentally on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing, sailed up the river, and flanking the French, did such execution by their artillery, that they put them to flight, and the Spaniards gained a compleat victory^R.

MEANWHILE the principal army of France, under the duke of Guise, and that of Spain, under the duke of Savoy, approached very near each other on the frontiers of Picardy; and as the two kings had come into their respective camps, attended by the flower of their nobility, men expected some great and important event would follow, from the emulation of these warlike nations. But Philip, though actuated by ambition, possessed not the enterprize

^R Holingshed, p. 1150.

enterprize of a conqueror; and he was willing, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, and the two great victories which he had gained at St. Quintin and Gravelines, to put a period to the war by a treaty. Negotiations were entered into for that purpose; and as the terms offered by the two monarchs were somewhat wide of each other, the armies were put into winter quarters, till the princes could come to better agreement. Among other conditions, Henry demanded the restitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; Philip that of Calais and its territory to England: But in the midst of these negotiations and debates news arrived of the death of queen Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, began to relax of his firmness in that capital article. This was the only circumstance which could have made the death of that princess be regretted by the kingdom.

MARY had been long in a very declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her: The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais^s, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, who, she knew, intended soon to depart for Spain, and to settle there during the rest of his life: All these melancholy considerations preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

*Death of
the queen.
17th Nov.*

It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. And amidst that complication of vices, which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity; a quality, which she seems to have maintained throughout

^s The loss of Calais so much affected her, that she said to her attendants, that when she was dead, they would find Calais at her heart.

CHAP. out her whole life; except in the beginning of her reign,
 XXXVII. when the necessity of her affairs obliged her to make some
 promises to the protestants, which she certainly never in-
 tended to perform. But in these cases a weak bigotted
 1558. woman, under the government of priests, easily finds ca-
 suistry sufficient to justify to herself the violation of an
 engagement. She appears, as well as her father, to have
 been susceptible of some attachments of friendship; and
 that without the caprice and inconstancy which were so
 remarkable in the conduct of that monarch. To which
 we may add, that in many circumstances of her life, she
 gave indications of resolution and vigour of mind; a qua-
 lity which seems to have been inherent in her family.

CARDINAL Pole had been long in a declining stage of
 health from an intermitting fever; and he died the same
 day with the queen, about sixteen hours after her. The
 benign character of this prelate, the modesty and huma-
 nity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved;
 insomuch that, in a nation, where the most furious per-
 secution was carried on, and the most violent religious
 factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the re-
 formers, has been done to his merit. The haughty pon-
 tiff, Paul the fourth, had entertained some prejudices a-
 gainst him: And when England declared war against
 Henry, the ally of that pope, he seized the opportunity
 of revenge; and revoking Pole's legantine commission, ap-
 pointed in his room cardinal Peyto, an observantine friar
 and confessor to the queen. But Mary would never per-
 mit the new legate to exercise his power; and Paul was
 afterwards obliged to restore cardinal Pole to his authori-
 ty.

THERE occur few general remarks, besides what have
 been already made in the course of our narration, with
 regard to the general state of the kingdom during this
 reign. The naval power of England was then so incon-
 siderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to
 be applied to the fleet by the treasurer and admiral, both
 for repairing and victualling it, they computed, that, when
 the money was expended, ten thousand pounds a year
 would afterwards answer all necessary charges^T. The
 arbitrary proceedings of the queen, above-mentioned,
 joined to many monopolies granted by this princess, as
 well as by her father, checked very much the growth of
 trade;

^T Burnet, vol. iii. p. 259.

trade; and so much the more, as all other princes in Europe, either were not permitted or did not find it necessary, to proceed in so tyrannical a manner. Acts of parliament, both in the last reign and in the beginning of the present, had laid the same impositions on the merchants of the still-yard as on other aliens: Yet the queen, immediately after her marriage, complied with the solicitations of the emperor, and, by her prerogative, suspended these acts of parliament ^U. Nobody in that age pretended to question this exercise of the prerogative. The historians are particularly silent with regard to it; and it is only by the collection of public papers that it is handed down to us.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1558.

AN absurd law had been made in the preceding reign, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth unless he had served an apprenticeship for seven years. The law was repealed in the first year of the queen's reign; and this plain reason given, that it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns ^W. It is strange that Edward's law should have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth; and still more strange that it should still subsist.

A PASSAGE to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign; and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the Czar to queen Mary. The ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland; but being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received at London with great pomp and solemnity ^X. This seems to have been the first intercourse, which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

A LAW was passed in this reign ^Y, by which the number of horses, arms, and furniture, was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided of for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a year, for instance, was obliged to maintain at his own charge six horses fit for demi-lances, of which three at least to be furnished with sufficient harnesses, steel saddles, and weapons proper for the demi-lances; and ten light horses fit for light horsemen,

with

^U Rymer, vol. xv. p. 364. ^W 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 7.
^X Holingshed, p. 732. Heylin, p. 71. ^Y 4 & 5 Phil. and Mar. cap. 2.

CHAP. with furniture and weapons requisite for them: He was
 XXXVII. obliged to have forty crosslets furnished; fifty almain re-
 1558. vêts, or instead of them, forty coats of plate, corslets or
 brigandines furnished; forty pikes, thirty long bows,
 thirty sheafs of arrows, thirty steel caps or skulls, twenty
 black bills or halberds, twenty haquebuts, and twenty
 motions or sallets. We may remark, that a man of a
 thousand marks of stock was rated equal to one of two
 hundred pounds a year: a proof that few or none at that
 time lived on their stock in money, and that great profits
 were made by the merchants in the course of trade.
 There is no class above a thousand pounds a year.

WE may form a notion of the mean way of living about
 this time from one circumstance: A man of no less rank
 than the comptroller of Edward VI's household paid only
 thirty shillings a year of our present money for his house
 in Channel Row ^A: Yet labour and provisions, and con-
 sequently houses, were only a third part of the present
 price. Erasmus ascribes the frequent plagues in England
 to the nastiness and dirt and slovenly habits among the
 people. "The floors," says he, "are commonly of
 "clay, strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolest-
 "an antient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones,
 "spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing
 "that is nasty ^B."

HOLINGSHED, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign,
 gives a very curious account of the plain or rather mean
 way of living of the preceding generation. There scarce-
 ly was a chimney to the houses, even in considerable
 towns: The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke
 sought its way out at the roof, door, or windows: The
 people slept on straw pallets, and had a good round log un-
 der their head, for a pillow; and almost all the furniture
 was of wood ^C.

IN this reign we find the first general law with regard
 to highways, which are appointed to be repaired by pa-
 rish duty all over England ^D.

NOTE;

^A Nicholson's Historical Library.

^C See note at the end of the volume.
 cap. 8.

^B Eras. Epist. 437.

^D 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar.

NOTE, Vol. IV. p. 159.

THERE is a curious passage, with regard to the suppression of monasteries, to be found in Coke's Institutes, 4th Inst. chap. 1. 44. It is worth transcribing, as it shews the ideas of the English government, entertained during the reign of Henry the eighth, and even in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when he wrote his institutes. It clearly appears, that the people had then little notion of being jealous of their liberties, were desirous of making the crown quite independent, and wished only to remove from themselves, as much as possible, the burthens of government. A large standing army, and a fixed reveaue, would, on these conditions, have been regarded as great blessings; and it was owing entirely to the prodigality of Henry, and to his little suspicion, that the power of the crown could ever fail, that the English owe all their liberty. The title of the chapter in coke is, *Advice concerning new and plausible Projects and Offers in Parliament*. "When any plausible project," says he, "is made in parliament, to draw the lords and commons to assent to any act (especially in matters of weight and importance) if both houses do give upon the matter projected and promised their consent, it shall be most necessary, they being trusted for the common-wealth, to have the matter projected and promised (which moved the houses to consent) to be established in the same act, lest the benefit of the act be taken, and the matter projected and promised never performed, and so the houses of parliament perform not the trust reposed in them, as it fell out (taking one example for many) in the reign of Henry the eighth: On the king's behalf, the members of both houses were informed in parliament, that no king or kingdom was safe, but where the king had three abilities; 1. To live of his own, and able to defend his kingdom upon any sudden invasion or insurrection. 2. To aid his confederates, otherwise they would never assist him. 3. To reward his well-deserving servants. Now the project was, that if the parliament would give unto him all the abbies, priories, friories, nunneries, and other monasteries, that, for ever in time then to come, he would take order that the same should not be converted to private uses: but first, that his exchequer for the purposes aforesaid should be enriched; secondly, the kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards, (as was projected) in any time

“ time to come, should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids; fourthly, lest the honour of the realm should receive any diminution of honour by the dissolution of the said monasteries, there being twenty-nine lords of parliament of the abbots and priors, that held of the king *pro baroniam*, (whereof more in the next leaf) that the king would create a number of nobles, which we omit. The said monasteries were given to the king by authority of divers acts of parliament, but no provision was therein made for the said project, or any part thereof.”

NOTE, VOL. IV. p. 253.

SPOTSWOOD, p. 75. The same author, p. 92. tells us a story, which confirms this character of the popish clergy in Scotland. It became a great dispute in the university of St. Andrews, whether the *pater* should be said to God or the saints. The friars, who knew in general that the reformers neglected the saints, were determined to maintain their honour with great obstinacy; but they knew not upon what topic to found their doctrine. Some held that the *pater* was said to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate* and *non ultimate*: But the majority seemed to hold, that the *pater* was said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to saints *capiendo large*. A simple fellow, who served the sub-prior, thinking there was some great matter in hand, that made the doctors hold so many conferences together, asked him one day what the matter was; the sub-prior answering, *Tom*, that was the fellow's name, *we cannot agree to whom the paternoster should be said*. He suddenly replied, *To whom, Sir, should it be said, but unto God?* Then said the sub prior, *What shall we do with the saints?* He answered, *Give them Aves and Creeds now in the devil's name; for that may suffice them*. The answer going abroad, many said, *that he had given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with all their distinctions*.

NOTE, VOL. IV. p. 382.

THE passage of Holingshead, in a discourse prefixed to his history, and which some ascribe to Harrison, is as follows. Speaking of the encrease of luxury: Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man; God is my judge; but to shew, that I do rejoice rather to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown

to

to most excessive prices, we do yet find the means to obtain and atchieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible: There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their sound remembrance. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected; whereas in their young days, there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm (the religious houses and manor places of their lords always excepted, and peradventure some great personages;) but each made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment of lodging: For, said they, our fathers and we ourselves have laid full oft upon straw pallets covered only with a sheet under coverlets made of dagswaine or hohariots, (I use their own terms) and a good round log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father or the good man of the house had a mattress or flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town: So well were they contented. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for women in child-bed: As for servants, if they had any sheet above them, it was well: For seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws, that ran oft through the canyas, and razed their hardened hydes. — The third thing they tell of is, the exchange of Treene platters (*so called I suppose from Tree or Wood*) into pewter and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house. *Description of Britain, chap. x. — Again, in chap. xvi.* In times past men were contented to dwell in houses builded of fallow, willow, &c. so that the use of oak was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, navigation, &c. but now fallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a fore alteration. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the assurance of the timber must defend the men from robbing. Now have we many chimnies, and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catharrhs, and poses; then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did never ach. For as the smoke in those days were supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the goodman and his family from the quacke or pose, wherewith, as then, very few

were acquainted. *Again, in chap. xviii.* Our pewterers in time past employed the use of pewter only upon dishes and pots, and a few other trifles for service; whereas now they are grown into such exquisite cunning, that they can in manner imitate by infusion any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or bowl or goblet which is made by goldsmith's craft, though they be never so curious and very artificially forged. In some places beyond the sea, a garnish of good flat English pewter (I say flat, because dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deep and like basons, and are indeed more convenient both for sauce and keeping the meat warm) is almost esteemed so precious as the like number of vessels that are made of fine silver. *If the reader is curious to know the hours of meals in queen Elizabeth's reign, he may learn it from the same author.* With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noon, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten. *Note there is here no mention of breakfast: It was not then used.*

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.



